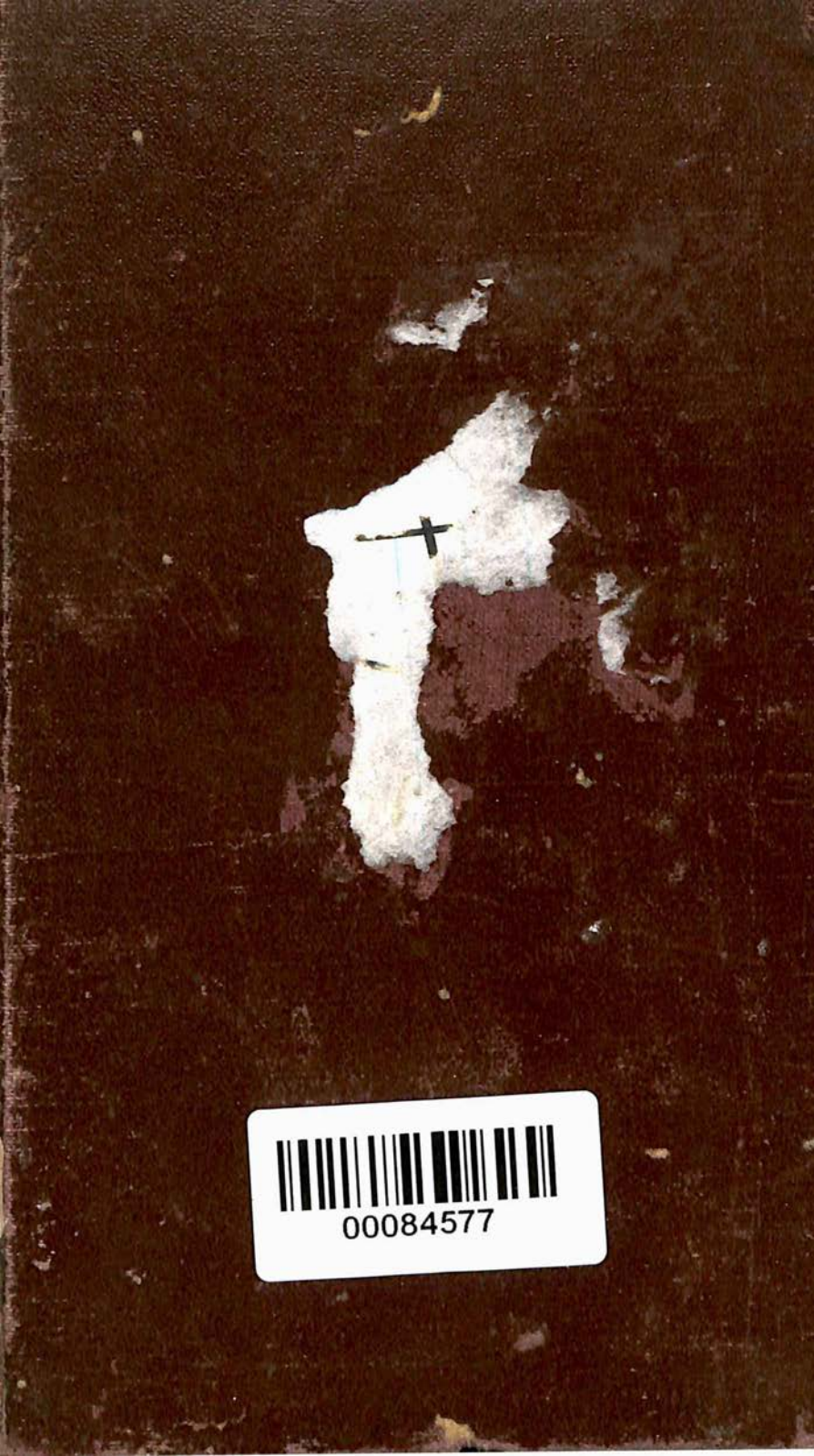
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TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS;

WRITTEN IN GERMAN

BY THE BARON *RIESBECK*,

84577

AND TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. MR. MATY,

LATE SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY, AND UNDER LIBRARIAN TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY

LETTER I.

Berlin.

WHEN you hear the king of Pruſſia mentioned in the ſouthern parts of Germany, you think they are ſpeaking of an angel of death, whoſe employment and amuſement it is to kill the people by hundreds and thouſands; to burn cities and villages, and to be the firſt general of his day. This opinion commonly reſts upon the ſame ground as another, which was very generally received by the common people during the laſt Sileſian war,

of the king of Pruſſia's having taken up arms againſt France and Auſtria for the extirpation of the Roman-catholic religion. Auſtria had often recourſe to ſuch little artifices; ſhe was wont to appeal to the religious and paſſionate feelings of the people, whenever her troops were beaten, and probably found ſome conſolation in it, not that only which ariſes from exciting compaſſion, but the more ſubſtantial one of the ſupport derived from the riches and forces of ſome of the catholic princes of Germany. Such prejudices in the populace are eaſily produced; but when you read in the writings of ſome of the moſt famous Auſtrian ſtateſmen and literati that the king of Pruſſia's whole ſyſtem is contrived for the purpoſe of making himſelf terrible to his neighbours, of plundering them, and of living by robbery, you do not know whether to laugh moſt at their ignorance, or be moſt aſhamed at their impudence.

Out of Germany, they look upon the king of Pruſſia as a great general, but are not therefore blind to his other virtues. Our countrymen, whoſe impartiality and juſtice in judging of the merits of great men no body can controvert, read his civil ordinances, his *bon mots*, and the anecdotes of what paſſes in his family, with as much pleaſure as they do the account of

his expeditions. Even they however, impartial as they are, form quite a falſe opinion of the king, when they conſider his military conduct as the greateſt of his exertions, and think his principal merit conſiſts in being the greateſt general of his day. It is natural enough for the love of ſplendid actions to make us more attentive to the buſtle which has attended his ſervices in the field, than to his ſtill and benevolent occupations. But we ſhould not therefore aſcribe to him a love of this buſtle, and a delight in the occupations of war, which no king upon earth likes leſs than he does.

Nouriſhed in the arms of the muſes, and attentive only to the progreſs of philoſophy, ſcarce had he aſcended the throne, when one of the moſt extraordinary events of this century happened, an event which muſt naturally call his attention very ſtrongly to it. He was one of the many princes who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion of Charles VI. What he claimed was ſome Marquiſates in Sileſia. The point was how effectually to ſecure theſe rights. Moſt probably he would have taken the part of Maria Thereſa, attacked as ſhe was on all ſides, had a proper attention been paid to his requiſitions, but the Auſtrian miniſtry, ever blinded by its own conſequence, only anſwered his manifeſtoes

with inſolence and contempt. The conſequence was, that after having defeated the imperial troops in the field, he made free with all Sileſia, which gave great offence. Then however he diſcovered the moderation of his nature, for it would have been eaſy for him, by ſupporting Charles VII. to have ſunk a houſe, which was the moſt dangerous to him in all Europe. But his politics did not allow him to commit an injuſtice.

It was neither the king of Pruſſia's love of plunder, nor any thing indeed, except the pride of the Auſtrian miniſtry, and the little knowledge it had of the ſtrength of the Pruſſian dominions, that was the true cauſe of the loſs of Sileſia. The Auſtrians deſpiſed a court which had no princes and dukes in its pay, but only merchants and *Knights à quaranto Ecus** for miniſters and generals. They ſaw no further than the outſide of the court of the preſent king's father, who, under the maſk of a ridiculous ſingularity, had laid the foundation of the Pruſſian greatneſs; they laughed at his unpowdered hair, his dirty boots, his turnep dinners, and his tall men. People knew not that theſe tall men, whom they looked upon only as his particular amuſement, were under the beſt

of

*Knights worth fifty crowns.

of diſcipline; they knew not that his *unbetitled* and *unbeſtringed* miniſters were the moſt enlightened patriots; that the moſt exact œconomy had made the ſmall country of Pruſſia richer than the proud and mighty Auſtria. In fine, they knew not that Spartan œconomy, and Spartan ſubordination, which this *ridiculous* king was making the characteriſtic of the nation, muſt get the better of indolence, effeminacy, and profuſion, even though the *tribe of gentlemen* had not been ſo numerous in Auſtria, as it was.

This ignorance was the true thing which ſome perſons have affected to call the good fortune of the preſent king of Pruſſia.

The invaſion of Bohemia, which took place ſome time after the conqueſt of Sileſia, was undertaken in conſequence of the moſt preſſing and repeated inſtances of the emperor, the head of the German empire, of which the king was a member.

I have converſed with an old and reſpectable Dutch officer, who accompanied count Seckendorff, as adjutant, to Berlin, when he went to deſire the king to help the emperor out of the diſtreſs which he muſt otherwiſe have ſunk under. The king was for a long time deaf to all repreſentations and entreaties. As count Seckendorff was preſſing him one day upon the

parade, he ſhewed him a regiment which had ſuffered conſiderably in the firſt Sileſian war. 'Behold,' ſays he, 'what war coſts me; this 'regiment has loſt above half its men, and 'ſhall I expoſe my people to the danger of being 'ſo roughly handled again?—This is the king whom people cry out upon as a robber and tyrant!—Seckendorff, who was a greater ſtateſman than he was a general, in vain tried all his rhetoric to carry his point, nor would any thing have induced the king again to become the enemy of Auſtria, but the being informed in what an unmanly manner the Auſtrians had behaved in Bavaria, how they had plundered the archives, robbed the nobility, laid waſte the country, and carried the peaſants into captivity; that in ſhort, their known pride, their ſpirit of revenge, and their cruelty, gave cauſe to apprehend every thing for the houſe of Bavaria.

The king undertook to free the emperor from his diſtreſs, without hurting Auſtria much, and he compaſſed it with a moderation, which the unprejudiced part of the world ſtill admires. He obliged prince Charles to give the emperor breathing room, by forcing him to haſten with his army from the Rhine to Bohemia. When he had done this he was quiet, and aſking nothing for himſelf, was contented with having done

done what equity and the ſhare he took in the emperor's calamity required of him. It is well known what little ſhare his love of robbery and conqueſt had in the breaking out of that war in which he eclipſed all that had been done by ancient or modern heroes. In the very heat of this war, in which he himſelf gathered ſo many laurels, he wrote a letter to Voltaire, filled with wiſhes for philoſophical quiet, and full of lamentations on the cruelties of war. Very far from being intoxicated with his fame, and untainted with any degree of the pride which filled the breaſt of that Roman governor, who returning from the government of a diſtant province, thought that all Italy muſt inceſſantly be filled with the praiſe of his adminiſtration; he aſked Gellert, who ſued to him for peace in the middle of the theatre of war, whether he had not heard or ſeen that there were three powers in arms againſt him; and whether he thought it depended upon him to make Germany a preſent of peace! So free was he from being elated with the *eclat* of his wonderful arms, and ſo far from thinking of higher things than how to defend himſelf.

In this wonderful letter to Voltaire, he promiſes, when he ſhall once be quiet, to cut off the moſt diſtant pretences for war, nor to take

any concern in the politics of Europe; but to give up all his time to the improvement of his own country, amidſt the bleſſings of peace. This promiſe he has hitherto moſt religiouſly adhered to. You think, perhaps, that he did not, in the affair of the diviſion of Poland; but he took the leaſt part poſſible in that affair. The world will be aſtoniſhed, when the particulars of this buſineſs come to be known, as none has ever been ſo miſrepreſented and diſtorted by political motives. I collected at Vienna, ſome very extraordinary documents relative to this matter, which I will communicate to you when we meet. Thus far is notorious to all mankind, that in this famous partition, the king had not a third of what fell to Ruſſia, nor a quarter of what Auſtria had. A ſtronger proof of the king's moderation, and of his pacific diſpoſition, it is impoſſible to give. Poſſibly the diviſion would have been a little more equal if ever the parties had come to blows.

In the laſt Bavarian war, he again obſerved the ſame wonderful moderation. The cauſe of his taking up arms was, to reſtore the houſe of Wittelſbach to its inheritance, and to maintain the conſtitution of the empire; which, as a member of that body, he was bound to protect.

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He aſked nothing for himſelf, and did not go a ſtep farther than he was forced to, by the ſtrongeſt neceſſity. No monarch ever went into the field with greater magnanimity, and greater diſintereſtedneſs, than the king of Pruſſia did on this occaſion.—Since the twenty years he has given himſelf to philoſophy, he has let ſeveral other occaſions go by, which would not have been miſſed by another monarch who had had the ſame powers of war in hand as he had, and the warlike diſpoſition commonly attributed to him.

No prince can manifeſt more regard for mankind, than what is ſhewn by the king of Pruſſia every day. He intereſts himſelf as much in the welfare of a common farmer, as in the flouriſhing of the greateſt houſe of trade in his dominions. It is his greateſt pride, and his greateſt pleaſure, to read in the yearly liſts, that the population of his country has increaſed. He has not been ſeen ſo cheerful for many years, as he was upon finding, by the liſt given in laſt year, that the number of the new-born children within the year, far ſurpaſſed the number of the dead. A king who has this way of thinking, is a warrior only when neceſſity compels him to it. His Lacedemonian armies only ſerve the purpoſe of enabling him to cultivate his country

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in peace, and to bring his law-ſuits with his neighbours to a ſpeedy concluſion. They are evidently not the end of his government, but the means; and it is only thoſe who are contented with viewing the outſide of things, and do not look into the ſprings of the Pruſſian government, who think them the great object.

Some of the Auſtrian writers think the king could not keep up his armies, if he did not, at certain periods, take a ſhare in the diſturbances of his neighbours, and raiſe out of them a ſufficient revenue for the ſervice of ſome years; but this is one of thoſe aſſertions which it is impoſſible to hear without laughing.

More than half the army, as I have already told you, are foreign troops. They ſubſiſt on the produce of the country, the conſumption of which is immediately connected with the progreſs of agriculture. Their clothes and linen are made of materials which grow in the country, ſo that they promote induſtry both by contributing to the raiſing the firſt materials, and by the working of them. Their pay likewiſe is iſſued from the treaſury, in ſuch a way as greatly to aſſiſt the general circulation. After their time of ſervice has expired, many hundreds of the foreign troops continue in the country, and ſo promote the purpoſes of agriculture and

commerce

commerce; but the greateſt part of the natives are always upon furlow, and work at home. Upon the whole, both induſtry and agriculture rather gain than loſe by the army. Indeed you can call only the foreigners a ſtanding army; for the natives are, in time of peace, as Moore has obſerved, a regular, well-behaved, and eaſily raiſed militia.

All the military regulations have theſe two ends in view; that of preventing the improvement of agriculture from ſuffering by the number of troops; and that of making them ſubſervient to the circulation of money. For theſe purpoſes the annual reviews always take place at the time of year when feweſt hands are wanted for the purpoſes of agriculture, &c. The troops are quartered in the ſeveral provinces in the exact proportion of the revenue of theſe provinces, ſo that no money can go this way from one province to another. Every thing is preciſely upon a par. Sileſia has juſt as many troops more as Brandenburgh, as it has more revenue; and the other provinces in the ſame proportion. As the army raiſes near two-thirds of the revenue of the ſtate, there remains by this means more gold in the provinces than there is in any other country in Europe, where commonly the gold flows to the middle, and the

the capital grows rich at the expence of the country. Each regiment has a peculiar part of the country aſſigned it for recruiting, and in this, or near it, are commonly its ſtanding quarters. By this means the troops are not only eaſily got together when they are wanted, but the father has always his ſon in the neighbourhood, to help him to improve his land, and at the annual review time, the latter has not far to go to join his regiment. It is inconceivable how, after this, ſuch clamours can be raiſed againſt the king of Pruſſia, on account of his army, and how it can be repreſented as hurtful to the country. Thoſe of the ſoldiers who are natives, do not ſpend a longer time with the army than their fellows in the Engliſh or Swiſs militia's. Indeed the maritime ſervice in one of theſe countries, and the cuſtom of letting out troops for hire, which prevails in the other, tend to deprive them of hands to till the ſoil, whereas the Pruſſian army increaſes the number of cultivators.

The Pruſſian army conſiſts of about 190,000 men, and coſts the king yearly about 20 millions of florins, or 52 millions of our livres*. Theſe men are, indeed, diſciplined into a ſtate of mere

* About 216,666l.

mere mechanics, nor can it be denied, that the hardſhip of the fate of the common men will make one of our modern philoſophers ſhudder; and yet, without theſe hardſhips the army would not be what it is, ſo that the king muſt be content to bear with it as a neceſſary evil, in order to ſecure the tranquillity of the country. What would thoſe who feel ſo much for the Pruſſian ſoldiers have ſaid, if they had ſeen the troops of Alexander, or Cæſar, which, in all probability, and from all we can gather from hiſtory, had not a milder fate than the Pruſſians?—what do I ſay a milder fate? Some intelligent men are of opinion, that both the diſcipline of Cæſar's troops, and the labour required of them, was greater than thoſe the Pruſſian ſoldier is expoſed to. Be this as it may, there is a diſtinction to be made between the Pruſſian troops. The fate of the native ſoldiers, is not ſo hard as is generally thought by a ſtranger travelling poſt; nor are they, as I have already obſerved, more than a well-regulated militia.

Another obſervation I have made on theſe men is, that they are not by any means ſo inſenſible and ſulky as they have been commonly thought to be. On the contrary, I have obſerved amongſt them, a great deal of good-will,

and

and a great deal of affection both for their king and their country. As during their furlows they have other occupations beſides arms, and keep company with other people beſides their corporals and companions, they are civiller and freer in their intercourſe than the foreigners.—Theſe laſt are enliſted in conſequence of a voluntary contract, (for it will be unjuſt to lay to the king's charge the decoys of profeſſed enliſters) the conditions of which are exactly adhered to.

No ſovereign pays more punctually or more ſparingly than the king of Pruſſia; nor is any man obliged to ſerve beyond the time for which he is enliſted, as has been falſely pretended. It is true, indeed, that the officers employ all their powers of perſuaſion to retain a good ſoldier; but a ſtiff and ſtubborn denial puts an end to their entreaties.

The neceſſaries of life are dealt out very ſparingly to theſe people, and you may read, upon many of their meagre faces, the extremes of poverty, added to the extreme of labour. But the ſailors, who ſerve other ſtates in time of peace for the purpoſes of trade, have hardly a milder fate; nor is it leſs ridiculous to reproach the king of Pruſſia, on account of the hardſhips to which his ſoldiers are expoſed, than it would

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be to compel theſe nations to relinquiſh their navy on account of the loſs of men they are ſubject to by ſtorms, ſalt proviſions, change of climate, ſcurvy, and the other accidents of a ſea-faring life. Without frugality and labour, the king of Pruſſia's ſoldiers could not be ſuperior to thoſe of other powers; *but* as he is ſurrounded by enterprizing and jealous neighbours, he *muſt* endeavour to procure himſelf, by art, what others enjoy in conſequence of their natural ſtrength. The ſufferings of a ſmall number is no evil, but a good, when the ſtate cannot be benefitted without it, and thoſe who blame this extraordinary diſcipline, muſt alſo with Mr. Linguet, find fault with agriculture, as it falls nearly as hard on the greateſt part of the ſubjects of every European ſtate, as the military ſervice does on the Pruſſian ſoldier.

The hardſhips too of the ſituation, have been much exaggerated by travellers.—Even blows, about which ſo much has been ſaid, are only uſed when the man ſhews incorrigible ſtupidity, awkwardneſs, negligence, or wickedneſs. In no armies whatever are recruits treated with more gentleneſs than they are in Pruſſian. Their corporals teach them the exerciſe, and how to march with all poſſible care and attention; nor do they grudge to repeat the way of doing the thing

a thouſand times, when the man's ſcull is hard of penetration. But when once he underſtands the thing, his teacher takes the ſtick, and tells him, that this for the future will be his teacher, if he does not do what he is now able to do.

In the courſe of my travels, I have often had occaſion to make a very intereſting obſervation. In all the countries belonging to biſhops, and in many of the free ſtates, I met with ſoldiers who had ſerved the king of Pruſſia, and who had moſt of them deſerted from him. As you know that it is my way to be more obſervant of men of the lower orders of ſociety, than of thoſe who have ſtars and ſtrings; I talked with about twenty of theſe deſerters, and did not meet with one amongſt them who did not wiſh himſelf back again with the king of Pruſſia. I have ſometimes purpoſely contradicted them, and have endeavoured to ſhew them what far more pleaſant days they enjoyed under their biſhop or magiſtrate, and how impoſſible I thought it, from all the accounts I had of the Pruſſian army, that they ſhould be diſpleaſed with their change of ſituation. This did not ſatisfy them. They all ſpoke of the king's great achievements with a degree of enthuſiaſm, which often ſtruck me not a little, and the concluſion of what they ſaid was always this: 'It

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'is very true that ſoldiers are rather roughly 'treated by the king of Pruſſia, but the pay 'comes regularly the day it is due, and there is 'no inſtance of any man having ever been 'ſtarved to death by him.' When a man does his duty, the officer's eye is upon him, and every one knows in what rank he may claſs himſelf; in other places men are only half ſoldiers, and derive no credit from it. Notwithſtanding they have the utmoſt liberty under theſe petty princes, and are oftener in the ale-houſe than under arms whilſt they continue with them, many of them, who are young enough, deſert back again to the king of Pruſſia. It is remarkable enough, too, that in all theſe places they conſider themſelves as a kind of veterans. In one of the epiſcopal reſidencies, I heard an officer ſwear at a ſoldier. The fellow anſwered him with a degree of cold pride not to be deſcribed, 'Sir officer, I have ſerved the king of 'Pruſſia.' And the officer was ſilent.

The frequent deſertions, are the capital objections which men make to the Pruſſian military eſtabliſhment. It is very true, that upon marching into an enemy's country, a twelfth or fifteenth of the king's army leaves him; but they come back with intereſt after a fortunate action, and though, after unfortunate actions, ſo many

of the foreign troops deſert, his own ſubjects deſert leſs than any ſoldiers upon earth.

A new inſtance of the king's wiſdom and goodneſs in not being willing to expoſe the country to any diſtreſs, is ſhewn in his willingneſs rather to bear with theſe inconveniencies, than have more of his ſubjects under arms. After the battle of Collin, half the army deſerted; and at Roſbach his army was made up almoſt entirely of his own troops; but mark—he beat our armies, and the armies of the empire, and the laſt ſerved him to compleat his regiments which had ſuffered. Thus it always goes. The Germans who inhabit near the Rhine, Maine, and countries about the upper parts of the Danube, always join the victorious army. When the emperor is fortunate, they leave the king for him; and when the chances turn, they turn with them. In the mean time they muſt of courſe always ſtand one action in the place where they are.

With regard to the interior government and tactics of the Pruſſian army, all I can tell you about them is, that no foreigners know any thing of the matter. Mr. Guibert, the celebrated French writer on the ſubject, is looked upon here as the moſt miſerable driveller in the whole world; and they pointed out ſeveral

things to me, which he had entirely miſtaken. I will give you only one ſpecimen, which I happen to recollect. He ſays that the cylindrical rammer of the Pruſſians, depreſſes the gun too much when they preſent. This is not only falſe in fact, but Mr. Guibert overlooked ſomething here, which the Pruſſians conſider as a remarkable advantage. They always lower the gun a little when they preſent, becauſe they have obſerved that it is always raiſed a little by the natural ſhaking of the ſoldier, eſpecially when he ſees himſelf within the enemies fire. They ſay we loſt I know not what battle in Flanders, by our men always firing too high, whereas the Engliſh took ſuch care to make their people fire lower, that ſome of the officers even lowered the guns of the ſoldiers with their arms and ſticks.

In my opinion, the ſame thing is to be obſerved in this, as in every other part of the Pruſſian government. It is not ſo much the myſtery which obtains, as the ſimplicity of things, which people overlook, and judge falſely about. They ſeek for artifice where there really is none, and ſet up myſtery becauſe things are too near their noſes to be ſeen. I was aſſured by ſeveral officers, that in marches (which they conſider as one of the moſt

important parts of the art of war, though they do not make a whole regiment ſtand for ſome minutes on one leg, in order to teach them how to preſerve the equilibrium of the body,) there are certain little things, which people do not obſerve, on which the whole depends. The king ſuffers no perſon to be preſent at the grand *manœuvres*, without particular permiſſion; but this is probably done more to prevent the troops being diſturbed by a ſwarm of ſpectators, than to make a myſtery of any thing. It requires indeed a very nice and well-accuſtomed eye, as well as a very favourable ſituation in the field, to ſee and underſtand a Pruſſian *manœuvre*; ſo that amongſt twenty profeſſional men, who are ſpectators, there ſhall hardly be one that can compaſs it. This is the true cauſe why the Pruſſian officers themſelves can give ſo little account of their own art. Every man has too much to do upon his own ſpot, to be able to attend to what is paſſing round him.

As wonderful as the Pruſſian infantry is, it is ſtill infinitely ſurpaſſed by the cavalry, according to the teſtimony of all the officers I have ſpoken with. Even Engliſh travellers, who are not apt to give any favourable accounts of what they

they meet with in other countries, and who are ſo proud of their own cavalry, confeſs that this part of the Pruſſian army goes beyond all that can be conceived of it. The king himſelf ſays of them, that they always ſtand to advantage between him and the enemy he expects. He ſpends immenſe ſums upon them, and ſends for horſes as far as Tartary. The Pruſſian officers, though not given to boaſting, aſſert, that in all the hiſtory of the art of war, there is not an inſtance of the cavalry's ever having been brought to the point of perfection it is now brought to in Pruſſia. They ride always full gallop; but their evolutions are as exact as any of thoſe of the infantry.

They look upon the attack of the cavalry as not to be ſtood by the infantry. The king's cavalry is above 80,000 ſtrong, and he every year uſes 5000 freſh horſes. The emperor takes all poſſible pains to rival the king in this reſpect; but he is ſtill at a great diſtance from him, though his cavalry is beyond compariſon the beſt in Europe, after the Pruſſian.

A great advantage poſſeſſed by the Pruſſian army is the uniform diſcipline that obtains all through. There are particular maſters of exerciſe for every diviſion of the army. Theſe the colonels themſelves muſt not control, when

they are exerciſing their regiments, though they are often only majors. This occaſions an attention to a great number of little things, which in other armies, particularly our own, depend only on the will of the colonel, and are therefore often neglected. By this means the whole muſt harmonize better, for when rules are the ſame, the alacrity or negligence of the colonels or majors in the execution, make a wonderful difference in regiments.

Another cauſe, which, in my opinion, greatly contributes to the excellence of the army, is the high birth of the officers. They are moſt of them of the firſt nobility of the country, and you hardly meet with one foreigner in twenty. They muſt all have been educated at the cadet's ſchool, and have ſerved as cadets: I have ſome very reſpectable acquaintance amongſt them. They are in every reſpect well-educated people, and upon the whole very ſenſible men. The ſmall pay of the ſubalterns obliges them to be œconomical, which is of great advantage to the ſervice. They have all a martial appearance, and that alacrity in every thing, which beſpeaks men always ready to cut a knot with their ſwords. I believe that the Pruſſian army has an advantage

tage over the Auſtrian, from the Pruſſian nobility not being ſo powerful as the Auſtrian. You cannot expect from counts and princes with large incomes, that exact ſubordination and ſimplicity, which is the ſoul of the Pruſſian army. Our experienced officers make a great outcry about the irregularities in ſervice, which are perpetually ariſing from the intrigues of private families; and it is well known that the Engliſh army is as ill circumſtanced in this reſpect.

The Auſtrians are by nature a far ſtouter race of ſoldiers than the Pruſſians, but this does not avail them; for, after all that has been ſaid of the advantage of art over uncultivated nature, no ſtronger inſtance can be ſhewn of it, than bringing up a miſerable artificial being, with all his art about him, to face a natural man, who is without it. The natural man, who, were they both unarmed, would be able to tear to pieces a dozen ſuch creatures, lies ſtretched out at the feet of the wretched man of art, as ſoon as the latter gives fire.

The ſame truth holds good with regard to armies that are more or leſs diſciplined, nor are the natural qualities of the ſoldier able to ſtand againſt thoſe which are acquired by art.

LETTER LII.

Berlin.

WHEN we read in Linguet's Annals that the king of Pruſſia had more ſoldiers than peaſants, during the laſt Sileſian war, we are naturally apt to take it for a *bon mot*; but I am apt to think it rank ignorance. The man who could adviſe the European powers to help the houſe of Auſtria to a part of Germany, in order to enable it to oppoſe the Turk on all ſides, is very capable of making ſuch a blunder. He eſtimated the Pruſſian territories by the map, where, on account of their broken appearance, they make but a ſorry figure, and ſo naturally fell into the opinion of its being impoſſible for more than 200,000 men to inhabit ſo narrow a ſlip of land.

What confirms me in this opinion, is the ignorance people are in with regard to the real ſtrength of Pruſſia, which yet they ought to be better acquainted with, partly by the information of their eyes, and partly from German documents, which are open to every man.

Mr. Pilati, one of the few foreigners who underſtand German, and derive their knowledge from

from the fountain head, relates, that the king of Pruſſia had not more than 120,000 men, when he made his firſt conqueſt.

When the king came to the crown, his own territories contained at leaſt 2,200,000 inhabitants; Brandenburg had 600,000; Pruſſia 60,000; Pomerania 300,000; Magdeburg and Halberſtadt 300,000; and his own Weſtphalian dominions at leaſt 400,000. His income conſiſted of at leaſt 12 millions of florins, and he had inherited a wonderful treaſure of ready money from his father.

It is likewiſe a very generally received prejudice, that Pruſſia is not ſtrong enough to maintain itſelf hereafter in the ſtate of ſplendour to which the preſent king has raiſed it. It is very true, that with regard to interior ſtrength, there are but few of the European powers which do not ſurpaſs the Pruſſian; but, as long as the ſyſtem of government ſhall laſt which has been eſtabliſhed by the king, it will always be able to meaſure ſwords with any power in Europe. In fact, the true ſtrength of a ſtate does not conſiſt ſo much in the quantity of its poſitive force, as in the uſe made of it; but there is no power in Europe who is able to ſtretch every nerve and every fibre, as the Pruſſian certainly can. Beſides

ſides this, if population continues to encreaſe as it has done during the time of the preſent adminiſtration, the poſitive force itſelf will encreaſe faſter than that of any other country.

The Pruſſian dominions, of which no perſon can have an idea in the map, contain 3650 German ſquare miles, which is as much as the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Portugal, put together. The population is about 6 millions, The kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, put together, do not contain ſo many inhabitants; nor does England alone contain as many. As the Pruſſian population does not yet bear any proportion to the ſize of the country, and as that is not yet all cultivated, the Pruſſian population is ſuſceptible of a great encreaſe. With regard to goodneſs of territory, the country in general may be counted amongſt the middling ſort. The ſoil of Brandenburgh indeed, is remarkably bad; but that of Magdeburg, Halberſtadt, Cleves, the marquiſate of La Mark, and ſome parts of Sileſia, Pomerania, and Pruſſia, are as remarkably good. When, in proceſs of time, they have acquired the degree of culture of which they are capable, they will be able to ſupport eight millions of perſons. Beſides theſe, this court has much to expect from an acceſſion of the marquiſate of

Anſpach

Anſpach and Bareith; and it is ten to one that it will come in for a ſhare, when the courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh ſhall execute the plan againſt the Porte, which they have been engaged in ever ſince the emperor's journey to Peterſburgh.

This plan has been ſpoken of here for ſome time with a great degree of confidence, and as it is impoſſible that whenever it takes place, this court ſhould ſit idle, I will lay before you the political opinions of thoſe perſons who deſerve the moſt credit. They ſay the two imperial courts hardly need the third part of their troops to be a match for the Turk. The king's ſituation is therefore critical, for he is placed between two courts, each of which equals him in ſtrength, even after they have ſent out one hundred and eighty, or two hundred thouſand men againſt the eaſtern enemy.—This is true; but if the king chooſes to oppoſe their meaſures, France, who is more intereſted in this affair than the Pruſſian court, on account of her Levant trade, which is an object of eight millions a-year, muſt naturally ſeek for a connection with him. France, however, has had the folly, at a time when the weſt and north were occupied by the two moſt formidable powers that hiſtory knows of, to waſte her power at

ſea;

ſea; and the two imperial courts ſuffered her to ſpend herſelf in the American war, in which ſhe had no manner of concern, till ſhe was intirely exhauſted. By this means ſhe has loaded herſelf with debt, and will not be able to maintain the balance in the Eaſt. By the bye, brother, it is very humbling to a Frenchman to obſerve how they ſpeak of the power of France in this country. They affect to think our armies might make a tolerable ſtand againſt Dutch, Piedmonteſe, or ſuch troops, or at moſt againſt the army of the ſtates of the empire; but that they would make no reſiſtance at all if oppoſed to the Ruſſian or Auſtrian armies. But to return—The king of Pruſſia, whoſe age and love of philoſophical quiet incline him to peaceful councils, would let himſelf be perſuaded to peace by a ſlice of Poland. Something he muſt have—for ſhould it pleaſe him to put his old weather-beaten head out, he would find many methods, by his great treaſure, of procuring ſuch aſſiſtance from Sweden, Denmark, and other German courts, as would enable him to make head againſt both the imperial courts; eſpecially if France was to do for the Porte, what its fleets enable it to do, or was to force the emperor to make a diverſion in the Netherlands and in Italy, where ſhe might be aſſiſted by

by the kings of Naples and Sardinia. Difficult as it may be, to make ſo powerful a head, and unlikely that all circumſtances ſhould concur, we may venture to ſay that it is ten to one the courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh will rather chooſe to make the king quiet in his own way, than drive him to the utmoſt. Only ſhew him that it is worth his while, and probably he will contribute his ſhare in driving the Turks out, or at leaſt guarantee the imperial courts againſt the attempts which may be made by any other powers of Chriſtendom, to impede their operations.

If the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna ſhall, as they have the power, proceed to the execution of this plan; the loſs of our profitable trade to the Levant, muſt be the inevitable conſequence of the ruinous American war, the end of which we cannot yet ſee, and which we cannot get as much by as we are ſure to loſe by this means. Our wine trade to the north muſt likewiſe ſuffer from this cauſe, as the Poles have been long at work on a canal, which, by means of the many rivers which paſs through their country, is to unite the Atlantic and Black Seas, and to bring wine for the ſupply of all the north, from the provinces which now conſtitute Turkey in Europe. Not to ſay

that

that Europe will have two powers more at ſea, which will be hoſtile to us on the Mediterranean. All this gives us good reaſon to blame the fleets built at the expence of our land forces. We have only one hope left, which is, that Ruſſia and Auſtria cannot long continue friends, when they are ſo near one another.

The Pruſſian monarchy has alſo great improvements of another kind to expect. If it was once compact and cloſe together, it would be a conſiderable deal ſtronger than it now is. They often talk of an exchange of the Pruſſian territories in Weſtphalia, and the duchies of Bareith and Anſpach for Mecklenburg, Anhalt and Lauffits. This would be very advantageous for the king, but it is extremely difficult to bring about.

The king's income is about thirty-four millions of Saxon florins, or eighty-nine millions of livres*. His civil liſt is incredibly and uncommonly ſmall. His firſt miniſters appointments are 15,000 florins. I know ſome privy counſellors in Vienna who have more. The ſtate of his ambaſſadors, at the greateſt courts, does not amount to more than 15,000 florins. The public of Vienna laughed at the Baron Riedeſel, the editor of the Journey to Greece, for

* About 370,833l.

for not having from thirty to forty thouſand florins, like the imperial miniſter; but he knew very well, that the qualities of a good miniſter are not to be found in his pocket. Accordingly a long time did not paſs before he gave the ton in the beſt ſocieties, and his jealouſy for the honour of his maſter, made ſeveral of the emperor's miniſters aſhamed, who were much better paid than he was.

Sileſia is the province of moſt conſequence after the kingdom of Pruſſia. It is only half as big as this, but has nearly the ſame number of inhabitants, and yields very near as much. The Sileſia linens are famous all over the world; and the king has juſt opened a trade with Spain for them, which was formerly in the hands of the Hamburghers. They have likewiſe a large trade for handkerchiefs. The Sileſian foreſts alſo afford a great deal of wood for ſhip-building. The Ville de Paris, which was taken the 12th of April of this year, was intirely built of Sileſian wood.

Having made ſeveral excurſions into different parts of the Pruſſian dominions, I have obſerved that there is no where ſo much poverty as in the two towns of Berlin and Potſdam. This probably it is, which has contributed to bring the country into diſcredit with foreigners.

The

The high price of the neceſſaries of life in theſe two cities, the great number of idle people, the ſmall pay of many civil and military ſervants, the pinching way in which many of the ſmaller nobility, who muſt have their ſervants (and often their debts) live, and the great luxury of dreſs, may be the cauſes of this. Upon the whole, the country appears to me, though not rich, yet in a ſtate ſufficiently proſperous. The equal diſtribution of the coin amongſt many people, makes the ſum not ſo ſtriking as it is in other places, in which a nobleman covers the poverty of a hundred of his poor countrymen by his diſſipation. This is not the caſe here; there are no perſons in the Pruſſian dominions, ſome of the large feudal nobles in Sileſia only excepted, who poſſeſs above thirty thouſand guilders income in landed eſtates. Indeed you cannot find more than three houſes which have twenty thouſand florins; but ſtill the inhabitants are upon the whole as remote from extreme poverty as from exceſſive riches, and you meet with as few beggars here as in any other country in Europe. There is no ground for the aſſertion of ſome travellers, that manufactures do not thrive in this country, for I did not ſee one city, though ever ſo ſmall, in which there were not ſome flouriſhing manufactures.

factures. It has indeed been objected to the king, that his ſyſtem of finance has ruined the fair of Francfort on the Oder; but the trade carried on there was a kind of Jewiſh buſineſs, which might perhaps be profitable to the merchants of the place, but was rather hurtful than uſeful to the reſt of the country. The ſame objection, upon the ſame narrow grounds, is made to the emperor, with regard to the fair of Biſſen, in the Tyrol.

With regard to the ſciences, and literature of all kinds, Berlin is, without a doubt, one of the firſt cities in the world. It is obliged to the king for this pre-eminence. His father was as orthodox and ſtiff as the late empreſs of Germany; and the Muſes, who without liberty do not live at their eaſe, fled from him of courſe. This ſilly prince baniſhed the celebrated Wolfe, who certainly was no infidel; but the king had no liberal ideas; he conſidered every ſtudy, except thoſe of divinity and finance, as nonſenſe and deluſions of the devil, and his Treaſurer, was a greater man in his eyes, than Wolfe, Leibnitz, or Newton. The preſent king, who is a true friend of the arts and ſciences, has eſtabliſhed a freedom of thinking in his country, which is not to be met with

any where out of England. Neither orthodoxy nor politics reſtrain philoſophy in this country; but whilſt every profeſſor at Vienna is teaching that land and people are the private property of the monarch, they publiſh here, without the leaſt fear of danger, that the king is nothing more than a *ſtadt-holder*, or the firſt amongſt his fellows. As to religion, the Jews openly declare that the Meſſiah is not yet come; the catholics, that they eat him every day; and that the pope is the head of all princes; the proteſtants, that the pope is the wild-beaſt in the Apocalypſe, and the whore of Babylon; the Greeks, that there is no Trinity; the Turks, that Mahomet was a greater prophet than either Jeſus or Moſes; and the whole race of infidels, that there never has been any prophet at all. All theſe things are conſidered as bare ſpeculations of the cloſet by the police; and any prieſt, rabbi, or cadi, deſiring to make an *auto-de-fé*, would be the firſt to occupy a place on his own faggots.

The king has an academy, which is *not* compoſed of the beſt wits to be met with here. There are, however, ſome men of true merit amongſt this generally very indifferent ſet. But Frederick, as has been obſerved by ſeveral of his enemies, has a prejudice in favour of foreigners, and

and had rather take one of our *journaliſts** to fill up his academy, than any of the German literati. Mr. Pilati has obſerved that ſeveral of the German men of letters would make a better figure in this academy, than moſt of the foreigners who are in it. The king does not think ſo; but then it muſt be confeſſed that he has given the Germans full revenge on this ſubject, by the publication of his eſſay *ſur la Literature Allemande*, which makes it very evident that he knows nothing at all either of their literature or their language. The reaſon of this is alſo obvious. When he began his courſe, German literature was ſtill in its infancy, and there prevailed at Berlin eſpecially, a barbarity which muſt have vexed him ſorely. His taſte was conſequently formed on the French and Italian models; and the company he kept in his hours of recreation, conſiſted only of perſons of theſe nations. In proceſs of time, light advanced in Germany, but he did not perceive the blaze it made in its progreſs. He himſelf wrote and ſpoke only in French; and the jeſts of the foreign wits who ſurrounded him, and knew no German, increaſed his prejudices, both againſt a language which he could neither ſpeak nor write, and againſt a nation which he knew only by its dark melancholy humours, and ſtiff cut of

* Reviewers.

the clothes for which the inhabitants of Berlin were remarkable in his father's time, and which they have not yet intirely thrown off. When the fame of German literature increaſed, and inconteſtible proofs of its eminence were offered to be laid before him, it was impoſſible for him to enter into the beauties of a language which he had always treated as barbarous, and of which he could only write and ſpeak the moſt miſerable jargon. In order to diſcover the beauties in any tongue whatever, it is neceſſary to be acquainted with its peculiar idiom; for it is in this caſe as it is with an actor who ſucceeds one that had been the favourite of the public. The new actor may poſſeſs all that art and nature can beſtow upon him, ſtill he will not do enough for general expectation on his firſt appearance; the ſpectators muſt have time to grow familiar with his peculiar pronunciation, his carriage, and a number of trifling circumſtances, which only hurt him from the compariſon with his predeceſſor, in whom many things of the ſame kind did not make unfavourable impreſſions, on account of the habit which people were under of ſeeing them. The king, who never had time enough to ſpare from the cares of his ſtate, to make himſelf thorough maſter of the beauties of the language, and to wear

wear away the prejudice he had formed againſt it, was rather confirmed in his prejudices than ſhaken in them, by the proofs that were laid before him, of the contrary opinion. It is poſſible too that his inſtructors might not be happy in the choice of the works they took to convince him. After all, if we conſider that ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne he has only uſed literature for a recreation and amuſement, we ſhall not be very angry with him for his averſion to German literati. The *ton* of the polite world is ſeldom found united to their learning, and their wits are moſtly ſtunted by the ſeverer ſtudies of their reſpective profeſſions. Whilſt in other nations the literati often ſacrifice their underſtanding to their genius, theſe always offer up the former at the ſhrine of the latter. Hunger and want of knowledge of the world render them booriſh and untractable in ſocial life, though at the ſame time they form the imaginary worlds of which they write, after quite a different ſyſtem from what they practice, and know how to give their writings a poliſh which they want themſelves. The profeſſional countenances of the Dutch literati, and the ſtudies of the *beaux eſprits*, which came to the king's notice, could not recommend German literature much to him: doubtleſs the genius of the nation contributed ſomething

to the preference he gave the French and Italians. The German genius is dull, and though many of their pieces do not abſolutely *ſtink* of the lamp, yet you may eaſily obſerve that they have come with difficulty from the authors. In conſequence of this, they ſeldom recommend themſelves as fine writers, even when they are moſt entertaining; for they have not the livelineſs which enables the French and Italians to mark the remarkable parts of a thing in a minute, and to give a neatneſs to obſervations often paltry enough in themſelves. Religion is alſo in ſome meaſure the cauſe of this. The proteſtants are accuſtomed to give too great a preference to the uſeful over the agreeable, and as the catholics, whoſe religion gives the fineſt ſcope to the powers of wit and imagination, are in Germany, all plunged in the deepeſt barbarity, it is not to be wondered at that the king chooſes, for his hours of recreation, Italian abbés rather than German paſtors, who are often much ſuperior to them in real knowledge, but who have the air of their cathedrals, and are apt to fall into the preaching tone, with which it is impoſſible that the king ſhould be pleaſed. The ſame thing obtains with reſpect to the writers of German politics and hiſtory. In point of truth,

and

and the knowledge of bare facts, they far ſurpaſs the hiſtorians and politicians of all other countries, but they do not know how to make their heroes ſpeak, nor how to give them a beautiful dreſs. It is certainly better to be true and dry, than falſe and witty; but truth alſo allows itſelf to be joined with wit, which makes it ſlip down more glibly. The complaints which the king makes on this head, in his eſſay againſt his countrymen, *ſur la Literature Allemande*, are certainly well grounded; but his remarks on the ſchools, as well as his proofs of the want of genius of ſeveral Dutch writers, are certainly not well choſen. The *ſhooting of darts as thick as the arm*, and *the ring on the finger of Time*, have been univerſally exploded in Germany for the laſt twenty years. As to the ſchools, in no country in Europe are they ſo flouriſhing as in the king's own dominions. The Germans proceed intirelyby rule, and even in things in which they are not calculated to improve themſelves, they are able to give the beſt directions to others. No nation ſurpaſſes them in eſtimating the productions of genius. They have given the beſt rules how a hiſtory is to be written; which, however, like all the rules in the univerſe, have not yet produced a

ſingle genius. In the mean time, rules and criticiſm of authors, is all that hitherto goes forward in the ſchools.

Nothing ſo much prevents the progreſs of German genius, as the indifference of the princes of Germany to German literature; but on this account, in my opinion, they deſerve no reproach; for if they go on as they have begun for ſome time, to encourage agriculture, to make the arts alive, to improve legiſlation and manners, and to pay their debts; theſe manly, theſe imperial purſuits, will, as the king well obſerves in his Eſſay on German Literature, contribute more to the happineſs and glory of the nation, than if their poets and hiſtorians eclipſed all thoſe of old and modern times. This, however, is my own private opinion. But when one of the firſt princes of Germany reproaches his countrymen, as the king of Pruſſia has done, for not having produced a Virgil, a Horace, a Tully, a Corneille, a Moliere, a Voltaire, and a Taſſo, one would think that they ought to contribute to the progreſs of taſte and language, and to the developement of genius: whereas I met with no court in Germany, in which a foreign dialect did not prevail. In all places but Saxony, the immediate followers of the court generally ſpoke their mother-tongue wretchedly,

wretchedly, nor was their French and Italian jargon leſs miſerable. No man can make his way at either of theſe courts without the French language. In moſt it is accounted vulgar and unbecoming to ſpeak your own language; and yet the court is the only place where language can acquire the rounding, and the lightneſs which is to diſtinguiſh it from the brogue of Barbarians.

In France and Italy the court contributes moſt to the poliſh of the language; for it is not the writer who makes the language, but words and expreſſions muſt have acquired the right of denizenſhip in good company, before any author can uſe them without offence. The jealouſy of ſpeaking their own language well and with taſte, is an object of the ſame pride and pleaſure to the great folks, (who always aſſume the tone of the court) as the being diſtinguiſhed in their dreſs, their hair, and their demeanour. Even in Greece and Rome, good company, and the buſineſs of the ſtate, contributed much more to the forming their languages than the writers, who did not appear till after thoſe nations had already acquired a very conſiderable degree of poliſh. But upon what models are the German writers to form themſelves? On the pulpit? Few people in high life pay any attention to what

what paſſes there. On the courts of juſtice? By the nonſenſical law jargon, and the cold and tedious form of ſuits? No, no, this cannot be: there muſt be Roman tribunals, and a Roman adminiſtration of juſtice, before a Cicero can poſſibly be expected. As to tranſactions with foreigners, which were formerly a wide field for German eloquence, they are moſtly carried on in the French language. There are ſeveral princes who have their very proclamations written in French, and tranſlated out of it before they publiſh them to their ſubjects. The diet of Ratiſbon, the only place where the ſcattered nations of the empire form an aggregate and can conſider themſelves as a whole, and where the love of their country, ambition, and even national pride, ought to make Demoſthenes', Ciceros, Burkes, and Foxes; this celebrated diet is the temple of ſleep, inſenſibility, ſilent corruption, the darkeſt nonſenſe and treachery. All the tranſactions with foreign miniſters, and moſt of thoſe with the miniſters of the German courts themſelves, are carried on in French and in the aſſembly of the ſtates itſelf, every thing is carried on by a ſingle *yea*; you ſeldom hear a nay, and commonly all is ſoon brought to a deciſion. As to the emperor's

ror's court at Vienna, there is a jargon there, which not one man of letters in ten can underſtand; nor is that of Weſslar one jot behind it in unintelligibleneſs. The German nation is no where brought together in a point, nor is it accuſtomed to conſider itſelf as one and the ſame nation; hence the language can be as little fixed as the character is. But if theſe impediments were once to be removed, ſtill the German genius would always be kept back by want of encouragement.

The ſmall court of Weimar is the only one I have yet met with in Germany, where the national genius is not left to ſtarve; but in order to feed it, the duke is forced, by the ſcantineſs of his income, to make his wits counſellors, ſecretaries, and lord high treaſurers. Klopſtock is perhaps the only poet alive, who ſhews any thing like a well underſtood patronage in any of the German princes. In a word, the moſt miſerable of our journaliſts will make his fortune ſooner at a German court, than the greateſt writer of the country. There is a viſible proof of this in the ſtate of the academy of this country.

Amongſt the numerous tribe of literati of this country, *qui ne ſont rien pas meme academiciens*, I was made moſt happy in the acquaintance of the

Jew

Jew Moſes Mendelſohn, Meſſrs. Buſching, Teſler, Spalding, Nicolai, and Madam Karſchin.

The firſt of theſe is one of the moſt remarkable writers in Germany. His works are elegant, and his ſtyle has a neatneſs, richneſs and preciſion, which muſt in time make him claſſical. He is at the head of a houſe of trade, and brings out his philoſophy as he can. He amuſes himſelf at his ſpare hours with the publication of fragments of his ſcattered opinions. He has all the elegance in his manner which diſtinguiſhes his writings, and it helps him to carry off a corpulent unweildy body.

Buſching, Teller, and Spalding, are members of the conſiſtorial court.

The firſt is the greateſt known geographer in Europe. His deſcription of Europe far ſurpaſſes, in point of accuracy and fullneſs, every thing that has gone before. Geography is a ſcience which, from the various changes which take place every hour, muſt of courſe have many defects; but I doubt whether it be poſſible to do more than has been done by Buſching. Not only his immenſe induſtry, which is abſolutely neceſſary in a work of this kind, but his wonderful acuteneſs in the choice of his help-mates, is moſt admirable. His hiſtorical and geographical magazine contains the moſt

ample materials for modern hiſtory, particularly that of Ruſſia. He himſelf is an inexhauſtible fund of anecdotes of the European courts; nor is there a ſingle one amongſt them all, with whoſe circumſtances he is not as well acquainted, as if he kept a ſervant ſee'd in each of them. As he poſſeſſes á great variety of living languages, none of the geographical, political, or hiſtorical productions of the age eſcape him; the whole world lays ever before him, juſt as a part of Switzerland does before General Pfiffer of Lucern, who you know has contrived to delineate not only the natural and phyſical ſtate of each country, but alſo the motions of the men in them. I talked to Buſching of finiſhing his valuable geography, but he alledged his numerous occupations, which prevent his undertaking the taſk he affected to be delighted with. I could diſcover, however, amidſt all this, that he is deterred by the difficulties of it; and indeed Aſia, Africa, and America, are not ſo eaſy to be deſcribed as Europe was. I find, however, that he has done a great deal towards theſe.

Teller and Spalding are the moſt unprieſtlike prieſts that I know. No ſoul upon God's earth is in danger of being damned by them for his ſpeculative opinions. Their religion is theo-

retical

retical and practical philoſophy. Both of them are wonderful preachers, elegant writers, and deans of churches. Contrary to the generality of proteſtant teachers, they have comfortable incomes, to which it is probable that they owe much of the ſoftneſs and gentleneſs of their manners, as it is often hunger that makes divines ill-mannered, rough, and untractable.

Ramler is one of the moſt amiable poets in all Germany, and none has carried the poliſh of his verſe ſo high as he. He has ſomewhat of the ſharp and ſhort points of Horace, as well as of his nervous and crowded periods. His language is claſſical. He is profeſſor at the cadet ſchools, but not in very good circumſtances.

Mr. Nicolai is a prodigy as an original writer, but poſſibly ſtill greater as a compiler. His *Sebaldus Nothanker*, is one of the beſt German novels; it is quite original, and abounds in ſtriking characters and intereſting ſituations. As he is a bookſeller, no body can find fault with him for regulating his authorſhip according to the pounds and ſhillings it brings in. There is no German writer, except only Wieland, (who, notwithſtanding his own notorious Jew practices in this branch, has dared to blame him for it,) who knows how to dreſs his commodities ſo well according to the public taſte,

taſte, and to ſend them out at a proper time. His own intereſt, however, often coincides with that of the public, and they run together. Germany is obliged to him for a Literary Journal, which, in point of ſolidity and real merit, has not its equal in Europe. As he is only the compiler, there is no being angry with him if a partial review of a book now and then ſlips in; but there are very few of theſe; whereas all the Reviews of other nations are, generally ſpeaking, plots upon the credulity and ignorance of mankind. His converſation is ſingularly intereſting, as he is poſſeſſed of a fund of anecdotes of German writers, which, if they were to be publiſhed, would ſurpaſs every chronicle that has hitherto been called ſcandalous*. He knows all their clubs, and the ſecrets of their private houſes.

Madam Karſchin is an amiable poeteſs. Her tales breathe innocence, ſoft ſenſibility and peace of mind. She is likewiſe very good company, and the more admirable for having made herſelf what ſhe is.

You meet with many women in this place who are well acquainted with the polite arts and *belles lettres*. Madame Rechlan, amongſt many others I could mention, is an excellent German

* Mr. Nicolai, greatly to his honour, has declared that they never ſhall.

German poeteſs. I was in ſeveral ſocieties where all the young women took a part in literary converſations.

There is no country in which you meet with miniſters ſo enlightened as you do here. All the miniſters and effective counſellors are choſen men, amongſt whom there is hardly one but would be a wonderful writer in his own line. The preſent Attorney General has done more in clearing up the ſubject of criminal legiſlation, in a ſhort pamphlet on the ſubject, than all the folios and quartos in the Beccaria taſte put together. The miniſter Hertſberg, to whom the king's Eſſay on German Literature is addreſſed, and who takes the part of his countrymen with great warmth, has been diſtinguiſhed by the writing of many, and the publication of ſtill more excellent ſtate-papers. He is an excellent miniſter, and muſt be known to you by his conduct of the diſpute on the Bavarian inheritance, and the peace of Teſchen. The Chief Juſtice Zedlitz, has publiſhed ſome very excellent remarks on education, and many of the king's counſellors are good writers. If, according to the old proverb, a man is known by his ſervants, every one muſt think highly of the king of Pruſſia.

What principally diſtinguiſhes the literati of the

the northern parts of Germany, in their acquaintance with the literature of the more cultivated European nation. I did not meet, either here or in Saxony, with a ſingle character of eminence, who was not well acquainted with the beſt French, Engliſh, and Italian writers. They are true coſmopolites in literature, and totally void of prejudice, either in favour of the productions of their own country, or againſt thoſe of a foreign growth. I have no where met with ſuch univerſal and impartial knowledge of the world as there is here. This is an advantage which neither the Engliſh, French, or Italians can diſpute with them.

LETTER LIV.

Berlin.

OF all the amuſements of this town, that which delights me moſt at this ſeaſon, is the walk in the park on the ſouth ſide of the Sprey. I have never ſeen a finer public walk. The varied beauties of the woods, alleys, groves, and wilderneſs, beggar all imagination. It is above three miles round, and has water

ſufficient to give it more life than there is in the walks of much larger cities. A part of it commands the Sprey. It is a pity that they have not carried it over the parade and the royal wood market as far as the river, from both banks of which you have very beautiful proſpects.

In this park on a Sunday you ſee Berlin in all its glory. It is to the people of this place what the Thuilleries are to Paris, only the mixture of the company is much more ſtriking, as you find all the populace and all the fine world here. You ride or walk through without any moleſtation. In ſome parts of the park you likewiſe ſee rows of ladies magnificently dreſſed, ſitting together as in the Thuilleries, and have the ſame freedom of ſtaring them full in the face, and comparing them to one another. You alſo meet with moſt of the literati of the place at ſtated times. There are refreſhments of every kind provided, nor is there, as at Vienna, a police to prevent any amuſement ladies and gentlemen may chooſe to fall into.

I had no opportunity of ſeeing the Royal Opera, which is looked upon as one of the beſt in Europe, but is ſeldom open except in winter; nor is there any theatre here except a very indifferent German one, which is not to be compared with thoſe of Vienna and Munich. The manager,

ger, Mr. Dobbelin, has ſome very ſingular opinions. He places the ſtrength of his company in the number of his actors, and ſeems to diſtribute the parts amongſt them by lot. I have often obſerved that he who plays the ſervant is much better qualified to play the maſter, who again, was nature attended to, would play the ſervant. Among fifty actors there are hardly four that would be reckoned tolerable at Vienna. The wardrobe is of a piece with the reſt. I ſaw two pieces, in which modern manners were repreſented, played in Spaniſh dreſſes no longer wore. Amidſt dreſſes of the fifteen centuries, you often behold a modern one, eſpecially amongſt the women. The women ſeldom change their head dreſs, though the ſcene ſhould happen to be in India; and yet Mr. Dobbelin makes a great outcry about his wardrobe, and the propriety of the *coſtume*. This theatre is ſo ſmall, that many of the ſpectators are obliged to take care leſt the clouds of heaven over them ſhould be entangled in their hair. I ſaw trees which were hardly big enough for walking ſticks. Some of this great king's troops are carrion, whom hunger has robbed of all their fleſh; and many are hardly able to move their legs and arms, for which want of action, the actreſſes are accountable, as you

may eaſily diſcover by the ſound of their voices. Mr. Dobbelin's wages, which are from ſix to eight guilders a week; are indeed not calculated to give his people a great deal of ſtrength. Their *forte* conſequently conſiſts in fainting away, in which art two or three of his women ſurpaſs every thing that I have ever ſeen of the kind. In this they are only excelled by themſelves when they die. Dying is the principal buſineſs of every German actor, and when he knows how to give life to his death, like ſome great actors I have ſeen, whoſe convulſions began in the feet and ran through the whole body, he is ſure of the applauſe of a German pit. The tragedy taſte, which obtains throughout Germany, from the Mediterranean to the Eaſtern ſea, would lead a foreigner to imagine that the country was made up of raviſhers, houſe-breakers, &c. eſpecially as the ſame cannibal guſto is diſcoverable throughout moſt of their modern romances.

Though the inhabitants of Berlin, including the garriſon, amount to one hundred and forty two thouſand men, yet it is not able to keep up a good company of players. It is entirely owing to want of encouragement that Mr. Dobbelin ſuffers half his company to ſtarve, and plays in a building, which in any other city

city would be looked upon as a barn. In this reſpect the city is *unique*. You would imagine that the officers alone, who are conſtantly from eight to nine hundred in number, would be ſufficient to keep up a good theatre; but it is not ſo. In truth this is one of the moſt eminent marks of the poverty and parſimony of the people of this place.

A man would not wonder to find the public of all the great cities of the Pruſſian monarchy diſaffected to plays. The great induſtry which they are remarkable for muſt have this effect; but the capital is the rendezvous of all the idlers of the country, and though the number of them does not amount to that of any other capital, it ſhould, one would think, be ſufficient not to let a couple of dozen of players ſtarve. Theſe particularities are to be ſolved by conſidering that the idle, ſuppoſing them to have their incomes neat and free from incumbrance, are ſtill very poor people. This is the natural conſequence of the wiſe ſyſtem of finance eſtabliſhed by the king. The induſtrious part of the public does not feel the dearneſs of the neceſſaries of life, which is the conſequence of the exciſe and monopoly, becauſe the wages of work are raiſed in proportion to them. But thoſe who live on

their rents feel their whole weight. If therefore they chooſe to live conſiſtently, and in ſome degree anſwerably to their eſtates, the expence of the theatre becomes too weighty an item for their purſes. In a word, the labouring part of the public do not go to the play here, becauſe labour makes them ſparing; and the idle do not go becauſe they are too poor.

I know no ſtronger mark of diſtinction betwixt the Pruſſian and Auſtrian character than what relates to the theatre. The Pruſſian monarchy contains ſeveral other fine cities. In Konigſberg there are upwards of ſixty thouſand ſouls; in Breſlaw, forty thouſand; Stettin, Magdeburg and Potſdam contain thirty thouſand inhabitants and above; Francfort on the Oder, Weſel, Embden, and other cities, have from eighteen to twenty-five thouſand inhabitants. A great many have from ten to fifteen thouſand ſouls. In all theſe, two companies of players can hardly get enough to keep out hunger. On the other hand, throughout Auſtria you meet with a theatre in every ſmall town. I found one at Lintz, at Neuſtadt, at St. Polnair, and even at Chreps. The larger cities,

cities, as Prague, Preſburg, Graſs, Brun, &c. have all ſtanding theatres. This difference is not owing to the difference of fortunes, for Vienna excepted, which is fattened not only with the marrow of the whole monarchy, but with part of that of Germany; there is much more money in the Pruſſian, than there is in the Auſtrian dominions, though no ſingle houſe in the former has an income of fifty, one hundred, or even two hundred thouſand guilders. There is an appearance of care amidſt the middle claſſes of the inhabitants of the Pruſſian towns, of which you can have no idea in the Auſtrian monarchy, the Netherlands and Lombardy only excepted. The only difference conſiſts in the greater induſtry of the Pruſſians, and the frugality which is inſeparable from it. The Auſtrian cities are full of idlers and ſpendthrifts, who are, on the contrary, the ſcarceſt commodities in the Pruſſian ſtates. Beſides this, the knowledge and manners to be found amidſt the inhabitants of the greater part of the Pruſſian provinces, put them in poſſeſſion of better pleaſures than are to be met with in the theatre, the dancing booth, the cellar, &c. In the ſmalleſt Pruſſian villages you meet with more happineſs, than in many large ſtates in Auſtria; and

and there is much more good done by private perſons in the former, than in any of the latter.

You have long been deſirous I ſhould ſay ſomething to you of the heir of the Pruſſian monarchy. The common accounts of him are as contradictory as they are ridiculous. There is a German journaliſt who has been ſhameleſs enough to declare that the king has purpoſely neglected the prince's education, in order that the ſhades of his future government may make his own adminiſtration more glorious. It is impoſſible to revile either the king or prince with leſs ſemblance of truth. The prince of Pruſſia is not only particularly well educated, but the king ſeeks every opportunity in his power to attach him to his ſyſtem of government. The warmth of his temperament betrayed him into ſome amorous exceſſes in his youth; but he is now much more ſtaid and ſober. According to the teſtimony of the king himſelf, who praiſes no man upon ſlight grounds, he is a great general; and all the people here, who know him at all, aſſure me that he is likewiſe a great ſtateſman. He loves the arts and ſciences, and what ought to recommend him to the notice of the German reviewers, thinks much more favourably of German literature than his great uncle. He has been reproached

reproached with being reſerved, and not knowing any thing of friendſhip. This was a conſequence of his former exceſſes, which naturally rendered him diffident whom he truſted or admitted to be witneſs of his irregularities; but it is alſo a proof that the king had always a watchful eye over his education. All this, however, is much changed within the courſe of a few years, and his character has opened itſelf ſo much to his advantage, as to render him worthy of ranking amongſt the great princes, who, by a kind of miracle, of which hiſtory affords no other example, have within a century raiſed the Pruſſian kingdom from almoſt nothing to be one of the moſt terrible ſtates in Europe.

The only thing which makes the Pruſſian patriots at all apprehenſive of a change, is a little love for magnificence, and rather too unlimited a generoſity. It is true that theſe are moſt formidable failings in a monarchy, which, like the Pruſſian, is built only upon ſimplicity and frugality, and has no other ſtrength but that which ariſes from the exacteſt œconomy. But the king, who is better acquainted with this than any body elſe, and has ever been a more careful father, both of the prince and country, than journaliſts think, has frequently made him feel, by experience, the bad conſequences of the

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want of proper frugality; and though the prince ſhould not, during his uncle's life-time adopt his ſyſtem of œconomy, he will not ſit half a year upon the throne after his death without being convinced that he muſt adopt it. The Pruſſian ſtate is a piece of clock-work, which ſtands ſtill as ſoon as one wheel is impaired; and the prince has wiſdom, alacrity, and honour ſufficient to give ear to the preſſing voice of neceſſity, and not to let his country ſink through his indolence.

The incomes of the Pruſſian princes and princeſſes are by no means ſo ſcanty as people are generally taught to believe. Every prince has fifty thouſand rubles per annum ſettled on him as ſoon as he comes of age, and the king's brother, as well as the hereditary prince, have beſides, incomes ariſing from eſtates and places. Prince Henry has nearly four hundred thouſand, and the hereditary prince at leaſt three hundred and fifty thouſand livres annually to depend upon. Neither of them are able to make the year meet on their incomes. But in caſes of neceſſity the king is as free of his aſſiſtance, as of his brotherly and paternal advice. He has a ſpecial art in mixing advice and admonition with the money he at any time beſtows. At the ſame time there is not a better pay-maſter

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in the world, nor is there an inſtance of his having cheated any individual of a penny in his accounts with them.

I cannot conclude this ſubject without giving you ſome more anecdotes of this in general ſo much miſtaken monarch. I ſhall not repeat any of the ſtories which are publicly known of him, and do him as much honour as a private man, as his exploits do as a monarch. What I have to communicate to you relates to his treatment of perſons with whom he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied, which will ſhew you at once both how little of the deſpot he really has in him, and how well he underſtands the art of inſinuating himſelf into the cabinets of the ſeveral European princes, and making himſelf maſter of their moſt important ſecrets.

I am acquainted with two perſons who have long been employed by the king in matters of the greateſt importance. They are both of them adventurers of the firſt claſs. The one poſſeſſes ſome talents, which however are more ſhining than ſubſtantial, as his knowledge is too much confined to his own affairs, and he does not know the connection of them with political circumſtances. The other had not hands ſufficiently clean, but his corruption has ariſen more from diſſipation, than nature

or culpable habit. Both having been detected in impoſing upon the king, there came to them ſecret advice from a third hand, and they diſappeared from Berlin at different times. The affair at that time made no further noiſe. It happened that both had it afterwards in their power to ſerve the king, the one at the Eaſtern Sea, and the other at the Lower Rhine. All thoſe who have at any time been in cloſe connection with the king, even when they quarrel with him, preſerve an affection for his ſervice in their breaſts, which ſhews more than any thing elſe, that the king is not the tyrant he is repreſented to be.

The abundant love for his ſervice, which was more a conſequence of true regard and friendſhip than of ſelf-intereſt, induced the fugitives to write the king word that there were things on the ſpots where they were, in which they could be of ſervice to him. This happened at different times, and the circumſtances had nothing to do with each other. The king accepted their offers, rewarded them according to their ſervices, and though he ſent them many letters, ſome of which I have ſeen, let fall never a word of their former miſdeeds. So far from it, there were marks in ſeveral of the letters, that he wiſhed to baniſh the remembrance

brance of them from his memory as faſt as poſſible. A ſtill more extraordinary thing is, that one of the men has been returned this three years, and has often had occaſion to converſe with the king, without having heard a ſyllable from him that could lead, even in the moſt round-about way, to the old ſtory.

Some anecdotes which I have been told here, and do not recollect to have ſeen in print, ſhew that this treatment of the two adventurers did not ariſe from any regard to ſelf-intereſt, but was the reſult of the opinions which the king entertains of human nature. The preſent miniſter ———, was a major in the laſt Sileſian war. As he had confeſſedly great military talents, the king made him adjutant to General Hilſer, who was as brave as his own ſword, but was no deep thinker. This was done in conſequence of the uſual cuſtom; for when a dangerous expedition is in hand, Frederick always employs perſons with iron bodies, who are uſed to run without fearing againſt any wall he ſends them; but then he always places an adjutant behind them, to give them the direction. The major did his duty, and the king was well pleaſed with him, and expreſſed himſelf ſo. The next thing you would imagine would have been preferment; but this did not

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follow; for the gentleman had too much ſalt in his compoſition, and had happened to make ſome obſervations rather too warm on the king's operations. Theſe came to his ears, and made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that he found an opportunity of letting the gentleman know that his actions were more pleaſing than his criticiſms. The major now thought that all hopes of his promotion were at an end for ever, he therefore retired to a provincial town, and gave himſelf up to philoſophical purſuits, like a man who had nothing more to hope from the court. After a certain time had elapſed, the king bethought himſelf of enquiring for him. He was told that he was ſtudying politics and finance for his amuſement. On this the king let him wait a little while longer, and then promoted him to a conſpicuous poſt in the province, where having had occaſion to diſtinguiſh himſelf, he was finally called to the miniſtry, nor has there ever been the leaſt hint given of what had paſſed between him and the king.

Quintus Icilius had once been treated very roughly in conſequence of one of his publications, by a gentleman who was diſpleaſed, and took the liberty of writing with great freedom againſt him. A little while after, having occaſion to publiſh again, he aſked the king's permiſſion

miſſion to do it. 'I have nothing to ſay to 'theſe matters,' replies the monarch, 'you muſt 'aſk Mr. ———, your reviewer's leave.' This nettled Quintus Icilius, whoſe weak ſide was the pride of authorſhip; and he ſhewed his reſentment by abſenting himſelf for a few nights from the king's ſuppers. When the king imagined his author's pride was a little cooled, he ſent him word that he had heard with pleaſure that he was well again, and hoped to ſee him at the uſual ſeaſon. Quintus accordingly attended, and not a look or queſtion paſſed which could put him in the leaſt diſtreſs. On the contrary, the king converſed with him with a familiarity and good-humoured pleaſantry that would have done honour to a private man, and could come only from one who was a man of the world, and loved mankind as well as he underſtood them. There are many other *traits* of the ſame kind, which ſhew how different the king of Pruſſia is in every thing from a ſultan.

Whilſt the Pruſſian adminiſtration is thus generally miſunderſtood; whilſt the very courts who endeavour the moſt exactly to imitate the operations of Frederick, cannot enter at all into the ſpirit of his adminiſtration, and commonly either take that for an end which is only a means; or for want of thought make thoſe parts

parts of their government myſterious, which he renders the moſt open to every man's inſpection who chooſes to look upon them; whilſt, *in fine*, moſt of the other powers of Europe have not ſenſe enough to think of learning his ſyſtem of government; *he* is perfectly acquainted with the conſtitution, adminiſtration, and the external circumſtances of every power in Europe, the ſmalleſt and moſt apparently inſignificant not excepted. He knows France better than our whole miniſtry put together. I have been aſſured from good authority, that for many years paſt four perſons have travelled at his expence throughout our ſeveral provinces, in order to give him accurate information of the population, the agriculture, the exports, and particularly the manufactures of the country. I know for a certainty that by this means he knows the Auſtrian provinces better than they are known at Vienna itſelf. The anecdote mentioned in the *Diſcours preliminaire*, of the book entitled *Grande Tactiqueet Manœuvres des Guerres ſuivant les pnincipes de ſur Majeſté Pruſſiane*, of the Pruſſian ambaſſador at Paris, Lord Marſhall, having in vain endeavoured to open the eyes of our miniſter for foreign affairs with regard to the affairs of Ruſſia, is founded on a fact. Nor is this the only opportunity our miniſters

miniſters have loſt by their preſumption of being taught by the king what might have been advantageous to the country they pretended to govern. It cannot indeed be denied that the emiſſaries which he employs to come at the ſecrets of foreign courts, often make uſe of ways and means by which honour comes ſhort home. When, for inſtance, the partition of Poland was in agitation, the papers of a private ſecretary of a certain cabinet were procured in a manner which much hurt the bonds of private friendſhip; not only ſo, but there was an audacity uſed which far ſurpaſſes all idea. Without attempting to apologize for ſuch things, I can only ſay, that as they are artifices which all the courts of Europe allow themſelves, none is ſo ſucceſsful in them as the king of Pruſſia, as there is no monarch who has ſuch truſty and acute ſervants as he has. The activity, fidelity, and ſecrecy with which all his matters are managed, are the cauſes why the Pruſſian ambaſſadors in all courts make ſuch ſhort proceſſes, and commonly arrive at their concluſions when other miniſters firſt begin to reaſon, to conjecture, and to combine. That cabinet which thinks to carry on any important thing in which the king of Pruſſia is concerned, without his coming at the knowledge of it, is much

miſtaken. In the preſent tranſactions of the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna with regard to the Porte, the king of Pruſſia has ſprung ſome mines which have opened him the doors of the two cabinets. He told the Jeſuits of their fall, two years before it happened; but they believed not in him, and imagined themſelves to be much greater prophets.

Upon the whole, the ſtrength of the king of Pruſſia conſiſts partly in the knowledge of his own ſtrength, and partly in that he has of the ſtrength of his rivals. There is a double advantage in this, ariſing from the underſtandings of the latter being as unſteady and variable as thoſe of the king and his miniſters are plain and preciſe. Want of underſtanding is the mother of pride, which leads us to the greateſt political errors, and makes us deſpiſe our enemies, to our great loſs. This blindneſs it was which, as the king well obſerved, carried Auſtria into Sileſia, and Great Britain into America. He himſelf is ſure never to fall into ſuch a ſnare, as his ſelf-love never blinds him. As a proof of this, obſerve the remarkable difference there is between Auſtrian and Pruſſian ſtate-papers. In the former the writers always endeavour by all means, and often in the midſt of viſible marks that they themſelves know better

better things, to trumpet forth the power of Auſtria, and leſſen that of Pruſſia. The latter, on the contrary, even when they are at war with Auſtria, ſpeak in the higheſt terms of its greatneſs; nor is there an inſtance of a Pruſſian's having given himſelf the trouble in, a public writing, to make the greatneſs of his country more than it is. They uſe plain facts and arguments, without the leaſt exaggeration. A very ſtrong diſtinctive character this of the two countries. In the midſt of the Bavarian war, whilſt Auſtrian writers uſed to ſet forth that the king of Pruſſia was obliged to enter into ſome war to pay his army, whom he could otherwiſe neither clothe nor feed; the Pruſſian miniſters only obſerved in their ſtate-papers, how inconceivable it was that ſo high and mighty a power as the houſe of Auſtria, a power ſo juſtly formidable to all the neighbours round, ſhould ſeek to make itſelf ſtill greater by the depreſſion of an old monarch from whom it had ſo little danger to apprehend. In a word, the Pruſſian kingdom is governed by rule, and the greateſt part of the reſt of the world by opinion.

LETTER LV.

Hamburgh.

THE body, my deareſt brother, feels itſelf as much worſe in all the parts of North Germany, than it is in the ſouthern ones, as the mind feels itſelf better. On this ſide the Erts-mountain, the inns, roads, poſt-waggons, and all that relates to travelling, are the very beſt poſſible; on the other the inns are not a jot better than the Spaniſh ones. The roads are like the Hungarian, and inſtead of poſt-chaiſes, they have a kind of large farmer's waggon, without cover or window, in which the paſſengers lay along the ſtraw like ſwine, and are expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather. On the other hand, here you meet with the beſt company every where; there is hardly a village ſo ſmall but what has manufactures, collections of the arts, and libraries; beſides which, every pariſh-prieſt in the country has more knowledge of mankind, than many a courtier in the ſouth of Germany.

Nature has likewiſe made a great difference with reſpect to the phyſical appearance of the two parts of Germany. Saxony, which is the beſt

beſt northern province for natural fruitfulneſs of country, ſtill bears no compariſon with Bohemia, Auſtria, Bavaria, and Suabia, and the hills of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, are not nearly of the ſame value as thoſe of the ſame ſize in the ſouth.

The dutchy of Mecklenburg is as large as the dutchy of Wirtemberg. The latter has five hundred and ſixty thouſand inhabitants, and its prince enjoys a revenue of two millions of rix dollars; the former hardly two hundred and twenty thouſand men, and a revenue of not more than four hundred thouſand rix dollars, of which the Schwerin line enjoys three, and that of Strelitz one part. Notwithſtanding this much larger population, the dutchy of Wirtemberg could nouriſh all the inhabitants of Mecklenburg with its ſuperfluity. On a calculation, we ſhould find that the dutchy of Wirtemberg has five or ſix times the natural riches of that of Mecklenburg, notwithſtanding the more advantageous ſituation of the latter on the ſea.

With regard to pictureſque appearance of country, there is much more beauty and variety in the dutchy of Mecklenburgh than in the mark of Brandenburg; though you meet with no hills properly ſo called in either, for the

things which they dignify with the name of hills, throughout this whole country, are no other than mole-hills when compared to true hills. There are however in Mecklenburg, ſeveral very pretty landſcapes, where ſoft hills beautified with great varieties of woods; meadows covered with corn, and little cottages, ſurrounding ſmall lakes, make a very fine picture.

The Mecklenburg farmers are a very ſtrong and healthy race of men. Their curling white hair reminds the traveller of the old Germans, who heretofore contributed to the Roman luxury that *aurea cæſaries* which, on the head of a thin boned, ſallow-faced, and coughing young ſenator, muſt have been the greateſt ſatire on the corruption of Rome, in the eyes of thinking men. Almoſt all the farmers in Mecklenburg are ſlaves; but their fates are not ſo hard as they ſeem, as the nobility are humane, enlightened, and good-natured. They, as well as the burgeſſes of certain cities, enjoy a freedom here which has long been loſt in the Upper Germany. The duke of Mecklenburg and the electors of Saxony are the moſt limited princes of the empire; nor have any decrees of the imperial court, which they have brought forward

ward in their ſeveral contentions with their ſtates, yet been able to humble their nobility, whoſe jealouſy of the power of their governors ſometimes amounts to an almoſt ridiculous exceſs.

The dukes obtained at the treaty of Teſchen, in return for having given up their claims on the marquiſate of Leuchtenberg, the famous *Jus de non appellando*, in conſequence of which no law ſuits can be carried out of their own courts to the tribunal of the empire. They thought by this to have gained a prodigious advantage over their ſtates; but theſe proteſted againſt this privilege, as being inimical to their liberties, and the affair is not yet determined. Probably the dukes will maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of a privilege poſſeſſed by few except the electors, and by this means obtain real dominion in their countries.

When I tell you men of the great world, that there is very good company to be met with on the banks of the Lokeniſs, the Stor, the Rekeniſs, the Warne, and ſeveral other rivers, which though you have never heard them mentioned in your lives, are not only as true rivers as the Somme, the Scheld, the Sambre, but in many parts of them navigable rivers too; you will think that my taſte muſt needs have ſuffered great

corruption from the groſs air of Germany. I can aſſure you however, that if by a ſtroke of a magic wand you could be taken out of your perfumed beds, and without breathing a drachm of German air, be tranſported into a circle of Mecklenburg nobleſſe, you would find the ſociety very agreeable. It is true you meet there no academicians, no abbés, no virtuoſi, no journaliſts, no players, nor any of the *characters* which contribute ſo much to enliven your ſociety. But on the other hand, natural ſound underſtandings and good hearts give the converſation a ſtronger and more ſubſtantial reliſh than all your anecdotes and *hiſtoriettes de cour*, your comedies, *brochures*, and all the other artificial ragouts—with which you mix ſo much aſſafœtida.

I have ſeen no nobleſſe happier, or more hoſpitable than that of Mecklenburg, eſpecially that in and about Guſtrow. Nor are they ſo unacquainted with the refinements of life, and the great world, as you may imagine. The tables are wonderfully well covered, and you may viſit many perſons who are very well acquainted with the life of courts. Literature is found among all ranks who are above the populace. The women know nothing of what is commonly called *ton*. They have none of

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that boldneſs and imperiouſneſs, nor yet any thing of the deſire of conqueſt of our country-women; they are gentle, and attentive to their children, ſtill and baſhful; but all that they ſay is ſo *naif* and hearty, that the wit of our moſt famous country-women appears loathſome and flat to me when compared to it. I was not at all ſurpriſed to find the preſent war much the ſubject of converſation throughout the whole of my tour. The nation take a natural concern in it, both on account of the troops they let out, and from their having been for ſeveral centuries very warlike themſelves. No wonder that under ſuch circumſtances more than a hundred news papers ſhould not be ſufficient to ſatisfy their hunger after news. But what I cannot ſo readily explain, is, the amazing partiality of the Germans for the Engliſh. You hardly meet with one German out of a hundred who is on our ſide. The Mecklenburghers eſpecially have a fondneſs and veneration for our enemies which approaches to ſuperſtition. I was in many places where they gave little *fetes* whenever the God with two trumpets, one before and the other behind, ſpread reports favourable to the Engliſh. It is true indeed that there is ſomething great in the heroic deeds and character of the Engliſh, which naturally leads the opinion of mankind towards them.

But it is not only in what relates to war that the Germans are hoſtile to us. They look upon our government as the exceſs of deſpotiſm, and conſider us as a tricking and treacherous people. You know that this is the direct oppoſite of the character we give ourſelves, and indeed of that which is given us by ſome other nations whom we have made our friends by our frankneſs and honeſty; but it is the projectors and adventurers, who being caſt out by France, have attempted to make their fortunes in Germany, that have raiſed this prejudice againſt us; for which reaſon I could not forgive the Germans their judging ſo unfavourably of us from ſuch ſpecimens, if I did not know that we are equally unjuſt towards them, and are apt to conſider the baron, who often makes a ridiculous figure in Paris, with his embroidered coat, and embroidered veſt, as a model of the German nobility. Upon the whole, different nations muſt forgive each other their prejudices, and it is eaſy to forgive them when, as it is in Germany and France, they do no hurt to individuals, however they may affect national pride. In England, Holland, and ſome other countries, they are often attended with fatal conſequences to individuals, and are therefore not to be forgiven.

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The firſt appearance of the free imperial city of Hamburg is very diſguſting and ugly. Moſt of the ſtreets are narrow, cloſe, and black, and the populace in them is fierce, wild, and, generally ſpeaking, not very clean. As ſoon however, as a man has made his way into the principal houſes, he begins to conceive a more favourable opinion of the town. In the houſes of the rich merchants you ſee taſte, cleanlineſs, magnificence, and at times even profuſion. The Hamburghers are the firſt proteſtants I have ſeen, who have continued good catholics in the material points of eating and drinking. Their tables are even better than thoſe of the people of Vienna, Gratz, Prague, and Munich, whom heretofore I have deſcribed to you as ſuch commendable proficients in the art of the Apicii; nor is there a place in the world where they have ſo many refinements on the ſenſual pleaſures as is in this. Though in few parts of Germany gardening is in as flouriſhing a ſtate as it is here, yet they are not contented with the wonderful vegetables which their own country affords, but import many ſpecies of them from England, Holland, and various parts of Germany. This is owing to faſhion, which has affixed a preference to the vegetables which come from theſe countries. They get together from

Eaſt,

Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South, what every country produces peculiar to itſelf and coſtly for the table. But it would far exceed your belief was I to lay before you an exact picture of the way of living here. You may however form to yourſelf ſome idea of it, when I tell you that it is the cuſtom in great houſes, to give a particular wine with every diſh. According to the eſtabliſhed courſes of good houſe-keeping, Burgundy, Champaigne, Malaga, Port and Moſelle, have each their different diſh to which they belong; ſo that when the meat is ſerved up for which nature, according to the opinion of the Hamburghers, has deſtined each particular wine, there is always freſh glaſſes ſet on. With young green beans, which is a diſh of ſome ducats, and new herrings, a diſh which coſts a guilder, the Hamburghers commonly drink nothing but Malaga wine; and Burgundy is the ſtanding vehiculum of green peaſe. Oyſters muſt of all neceſſity ſwim in Champaigne; and the coſtly ſalt meats admit of no other convoy than Port and Madeira. You muſt not think that this takes place only on feſtivals; by no means; it is the daily food of the rich; and their way of living is adapted in every thing to this.

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I am ſoon to make ſome viſits in the country houſes near town, which are out of all number. Equipages, furniture, play tables, every thing, in a word, is anſwerable to the expence of the table. Few aſſemblies of Pariſian people of faſhion, are more brilliant than the parties who meet in villas here, and they hardly play as high. Thoſe who can afford to ſpend no more than twenty or thirty thouſand livres a year, rank among the middling claſs, and though they are all obliged to ſupport themſelves by their own induſtry, and that there is ſcarce any nobility with a ſtated revenue to be met with, there are many families who ſpend from forty to fifty or ſixty thouſand livres a year in their houſekeeping.

Notwithſtanding all this love of good eating, the mind is not oppreſſed and borne down by the body here as it is in the ſouthern parts of Germany. The Hamburghers of the higher claſs are ſtill more jovial, more happy, more converſible, and more witty, than the Saxons. You meet here with many literati of the firſt claſs. Natural hiſtory particularly flouriſhes much and is held in high eſtimation. It was a Hamburgher who gave Linnæus the fundamental ideas of his *Syſtema Naturæ*. As moſt of the young people are ſent abroad to form trading connections

connections in the several ports of London, Petersburg, Calais, Bourdeaux, &c. in all which the Hamburghers have houses, a stranger is sure to meet with some people who are acquainted with his native country. The Hamburghers upon the whole are great travellers, which renders the society of this place particularly lively and animated.

The women of this place are handsome, genteel, and freer in their manners than they generally are in protestant countries; particularly there obtains a vivacity which a man is not used to look for in the north, and is a strong contrast to the aldermannic gusto of Holland. Doubtless the good eating occasions this.

One of the great pleasures of this city arises from the Alstersluss. It comes from the north, almost through the middle of the city, and forms a lake in it, nearly eight hundred paces in circumference. In a summer evening this lake is almost covered over with gondolas, which have not such a melancholy aspect as the Venetian ones. These are filled with family or other parties, and have often boats in attendance upon them with music. The whole has an astonishing good effect, which is still greater from there being a much-frequented public walk by the lake; the liveliness of which corresponds

correſponds very pleaſingly with that of the people on the water.

Near the city there are ſome villages on the Elbe called the Four *Lands*, which are alſo in ſummer a notable *rendezvous* of pleaſure. The farmers who live in theſe villages are in very good circumſtances, and take a prodigious ſum of money from the town, for their excellent vegetables, particularly for their green peaſe. Every day during the ſummer you meet here with parties from the city, who are as conſpicuous for their genteel appearance, as for their exceſſes in eating and drinking. The farmers daughters are very pretty, and their dreſs the handſomeſt I have yet ſeen amongſt this claſs of beings. They allure the young men of the city to their cots; and many quarter themſelves here under the pretence of a milk diet, but in fact to be near their ſweethearts.

Theſe above mentioned four villages ſupply the town with vegetables, butter, milk, hay, and many other things of the kind—alſo with moſt of the women of pleaſure, and moſt of the ſpinners.

The city of Altona, which lies at no great diſtance from this town, alſo affords this people many opportunities of amuſing themſelves. The king of Denmark, who from a jealouſy of Hamburg

burg, endeavours by every means in his power to make this place flouriſhing, appears to have it in his head to hurt the brothels and inns of the city, as well as the trade. Through his care Altona has, in a ſhort ſpace of time, from a ſmall village, become a town of thirty-five thouſand inhabitants, amongſt whom, however, to ſpeak freely, there are far too many raſcals.

The country round about Hamburg, though a flat, is extremely pleaſant; the various and flouriſhing agriculture gives it a very gay appearance; the water, however, contributes much to the beauty. The river conduces extremely to the advantage of this city, which by taking the laſt toll, has almoſt an illimited command over it. It is a mile and three quarters broad at Hamburgh, and forms ſeveral iſlands, on which they make parties of pleaſure. The aſpect of this mighty river, always well filled with ſhips, and in ſeveral parts containing very rich iſlands, has a great deal of majeſty in it. 'Tis a pity that you enjoy this magnificent proſpect only from a few houſes in the city.

Notwithſtanding the quantity of water, and low ſituation, the air of the place is extremely good; this is owing to the cleanſing it receives from the ſtrong winds which blow upon it from all quarters. The north wind is very dange-

rous

rous to the city, it impedes the courſe of the ſtream, and occaſions many inundations which frequently fill the lower parts of the houſes with water, and do a great deal of miſchief to the country around.

LETTER LVI.

Hamburg.

HAMBURG is without compariſon the moſt flouriſhing commercial city in all Germany. Except London and Amſterdam, there is hardly a port in which you ſee conſtantly ſo many ſhips as you do here. The preſent buſineſs conſiſts in great part of commiſſion and carrying; but the proper and ſolid trade of the inhabitants is likewiſe very conſiderable. Their principal trade is driven with Spain and France; and they gain conſiderably by the exchange with the former. Hamburg has hitherto ſupplied Spain with moſt of its linens; it alſo ſupplies it with large quantities of iron, copper, and other articles which the north produces. The Pruſſians, Danes, Swedes, and Ruſſians give themſelves a great deal of trouble to be the carriers of their own com-

modities to Spain; but it is extremely difficult to turn trade out of an old channel, and many of the merchants of the north find the carrying-trade of Hamburg too convenient, and in part alſo too profitable to them, for the preſent proprietors to be in any great danger of loſing this channel of trade. The ſums advanced ſtay too long at Cales, and when a country cannot pay itſelf in the commodities of that it trades with, the trade with Spain is very troubleſome. At preſent Hamburg is always in debt to Spain, for except in time of war, (when materials for ſhip building, ammunition, &c. make ſome difference) it carries more things out of the country than it furniſhes. Another reaſon why that part of the northern exports will always go through the hands of the Hamburghers is, that they can pay for them quickly and regularly; whereas the waiting for the ſhips from the Havannah, without the return of which the Spaniſh trade cannot go on, often puts the northern merchant to inconveniencies.

Sugar-cane is the great article which goes from Spain to Hamburg, by which the latter gains large ſums. No nation has hitherto been able to vie with the Hamburghers in boiling and refining ſugars. The trade for theſe articles extends through all Germany, Poland, and a great

great part of the north. Other important articles which Hamburg takes from Spain, and with which it drives a very conſiderable trade in the north, are wine, ſalt, fruit and the like. Beſides all theſe, manufactures of handkerchiefs, ratteens, and ribbons, apothecaries drugs, and the fiſhery, form a very conſiderable part of the trade of the country. There is no place in the world which contains finer and more cunning ſpeculators than this does; no circumſtances or moment favourable to a ſingle article eſcape them. The preſent war has brought them in aſtoniſhing ſums.

The enlightened and patriotic governors of this place omit nothing which can contribute to the extenſion of trade. Some years ago the proſpect of advantage to their fellow citizens made them attempt to open a trade for them on the coaſt of Barbary; the Dutch were immediately jealous of this, and made the king of Spain believe that the Hamburghers furniſhed the Saracens with implements of war: the king, in conſequence, made ſeveral orders, which have ſtopped the channel to the preſent merchants, whom however he cannot prevent from a much more profitable commerce with his own ſubjects.

This ſtate is ſurrounded on all ſides by mighty rivals, of whom however, the induſtry, cunning, and liberty of the inhabitants ever get the better. The Daniſh government omits nothing that can hurt the country; nay it often ſeeks to hurt it without any proſpect of advantage to itſelf. One of the favourite projects of the Daniſh miniſters is to unite the Eaſt Sea to the German Ocean, by a canal joined to the Eyder. This would give a death ſtroke to the commerce of Lubeck and Hamburg; but the government and the intelligent part of the country are as eaſy about this, as they would be if his Daniſh majeſty was to order a canal to be dug in Greenland. On the other ſide, the king of Pruſſia had, by his terrible taxes, cut off the communication of this country with Saxony by the Elbe, which was a ſevere ſtroke to both countries. What did the wiſe government here do? It entered into a treaty of commerce with Hanover and Brunſwick, and laid the plan of a road between Saxony and this place. This ſoon convinced the king of Pruſſia that his toll on the Elbe would be ruined ſooner than the trade between Hamburg and Saxony, and forced him to lower it accordingly. Still however it is too high for the Saxons and Hamburghers,

Hamburghers, but muſt continue for ſome time within tolerable bounds.

Notwithſtanding all the impediments caſt in the way of it, the trade of this country has been continually gaining ground during this century. No doubt, the immediate cauſes have been the improvements in agriculture, the increaſe of population, and the greater approaches towards luxury, made by the inhabitants of the north. Liberty alone would however in time have been ſufficient to have removed many of the hindrances which hoſtile neighbours ſought to put in the way of the trade. Whilſt the neighbouring powers were increaſing their exciſe and cuſtom-houſe duties, and by ſo doing ſtopping up ſo many channels of commerce to their ſubjects, here they were opening every door both of exports and imports; and inſtead of ſeeking to raiſe, were inventing every poſſible method to diminiſh the taxes. This illimited freedom of trade is of a piece with the ſpirit of the conſtitution and of the city, and was the only means which the wiſe governors of it could hit upon to raiſe the ſtate. But if the ſtate had not been a ſingle independant city, as the luxury which ſupports a free trade could not have been kept up but at the expence of the country, the illimited freedom

would have been very diſadvantageous to the country belonging to it. The politicians of this place are in the right when they maintain that illimited liberty of trade is the foundation of the well-being of their country; but they are in the wrong for blaming, as they all do, the Pruſſian ſyſtem of exciſe, as a mad ſyſtem, equally deſtructive to the country and people. There is a great difference between a ſingle independant city and a great ſtate. That commerce which enriches the Hamburghers, makes ſeveral of the Holſteiners and Mecklenburghers poor, by taking ſo much money from them for coffee, ſugar, wine, &c. and it would ſoon ruin the king of Pruſſia's beſt provinces, juſt as the flouriſhing trade of Dantzick has too much contributed to the impoveriſhing of the wide extended kingdom of Poland. If Hamburg had a large extent of country, it would ſoon find the bad conſequences of an illimited freedom of trade, eſpecially, if like the leaders of other republics, its governors would not prefer the inhabitants of the country to thoſe of the city. In the mean time, the baſe clamour of foreign and domeſtic merchants, by neither of whom the king of Pruſſia would ſuffer his ſubjects to be plundered, has made him be reputed a tyrant by Mr. Wraxall, and writers of his ſtamp.

The

The fortunes of the inhabitants of this country are in a conſtant ſtate of fluctuation. The expenſiveneſs of living is the reaſon that there are very few rich houſes; you can hardly find any that has been fifty years in the ſame ſtyle of ſplendour. The immenſe profits of this grand commercial country are ſo well divided, that you cannot meet with above five perſons who poſſeſs a million; but the number of houſes which have from three to ſix hundred thouſand guilders, is extremely great. But then as ſoon as a merchant makes one hundred thouſand guilders, he muſt have his coach and country houſe. His expences keep pace with his income, ſo that the leaſt blow brings him back to poverty; from which, however, the ſlighteſt labour will extricate him again. Hamburg is truly ſingular as a commercial city, in this reſpect, for you meet in it with perſons who have been bankrupts three or four times, and yet have returned to riches. The man who has an income of from two to three hundred thouſand florins, and makes more ſhew with it, both in his trade and houſe-keeping, than many Amſterdamers who have many millions, loſes in a moment his country-houſe, his houſe in town, his palace, his ware-houſe, his coach and gardens, and begins again as a broker; but hardly are his old eſtate and

country houſe ſold off, than he has another eſtate, buys another country houſe, is able to drive through the town with two prancing Holſteiners before him, and has his garden, his coach, his gambling box,—till, heigh preſto! he is a broker again. The inexplicable facility of making uſe of one's money, renders the Hamburgher here too bold; ſo that he does more buſineſs with fifty thouſand florins, than a Dutchman will do with two hundred thouſand; but then he is more expoſed to reverſe of fortune than the Dutchman is. However, the ſecurity he is under of not being obliged to beg in his old age, renders him quite careleſs. There are, indeed, no where ſo good retreats for bankrupts as there are here. If broken merchants do not chooſe to turn brokers and try their luck afreſh, they have employments given them on which they may live very comfortably. Beſides theſe, there are funds for the ſupport of *poor burghers*, words which mean here bankrupts. There is no place, indeed, where the eſtabliſhments for the poor are on ſo ſplendid a footing as they are here. Look where you will you ſee that bankrupts have had a ſhare in the legiſlation, and that they have ſought to make themſelves and their poſterity ſecure againſt all events.

The

The great and frequent revolutions in the commercial houſes of this place, give the merchant an alacrity which he has no where elſe in the world. The genius of trade does no where ſo many wonders as it does here. The Hamburghers far outdo the Dutch in happy calculations, ſpeculation, and fortunate hits; and you meet with more true theory of trade amongſt the brokers of this place, than there is to be found in many thick books written expreſsly on the ſubject. Only you muſt not expect to ſee the ſubject treated with a view to finance, as they have no reliſh for cuſtoms, exciſe, and all the modern Jewiſh inventions to ſpunge the ſubſtance of the people.

The quickneſs and vivacity with which trade is carried on here, employs a larger capital than is put into it by the Dutch, who are more expert at ſaving money than at getting it. The Hamburgher works himſelf up again with the ſame eaſe with which he falls; whereas the Dutchman could not make his fortune without exceſſive parſimony, and commonly ſpeaking, is indebted only to his induſtry and ſaving for what he gets. Rich inheritances are very ſcarce here, in compariſon to the ſum of money there is in the place, as this is divided amongſt too many,

and

and the ebbs and flows are too frequent. The great capital of every inhabitant is his induſtry and underſtanding.

The illimited credit of the bank of this place, is a certain ſign both of the riches of the ſtate, and of the right notions which prevail here with reſpect to every thing which has a relation to trade. The foundations on which this bank reſts, are the ſimpleſt that can be imagined. There is neither paper nor any kind of coined money, but only a large quantity of ſilver, which is meaſured out by the pound. It is, however, the moſt reſpected, and I muſt think the moſt ſecure of all the eſtabliſhments of the kind in the world.

The government of Hamburg is wonderful. I am acquainted with no commonwealth that has ſo nicely hit off the juſt mean betwixt ariſtocracy and democracy, and ſecured itſelf ſo well againſt the inconveniencies of both, as this has done. The legiſlative power is in the hands of the aſſembled burgeſſes. Theſe are choſen from the five pariſhes of the city. The firſt college, or firſt deputation of them, conſiſts of the aldermen, three of whom are choſen by the inhabitants of each pariſh. Every pariſh alſo ſends nine perſons to the ſecond, which, with the former one, make a college of ſixty.

Finally,

Finally, each pariſh contributes twenty-four to the third, making, when joined to the two former, a number of one hundred and eighty. The ordinary buſineſs is regularly brought by the council before this aſſembly; but when there is a new law to be made, or a new tax to be raiſed, after having paſſed this court, it muſt farther be laid before a general aſſembly of the burghers. The one hundred and eighty, together with ſix aſſeſſors added to them from each pariſh, muſt appear before this aſſembly, in which every man who poſſeſſes a houſe of his own, or an eſtate that is out of debt, or a certain ſum in ſpecie above the value for which the houſe or eſtate is mortgaged, may appear and give his vote.

The miſerable corporation ſyſtem, which, in other republics approaching towards democracy, often leads to ridiculous, and often to very ſerious and fatal exceſſes, has no influence here upon the ſtate. No manufacturer can tyrannize over the people, as is the caſe in many other republican governments; nor does the happineſs of the whole depend upon the will or caprice of a company of ſkinners or barber ſurgeons. Due proviſion has alſo been made that the will of the mob, which often overturns the wiſeſt ordinances, and the moſt uſeful projects,

jects, in countries approaching ſo nearly to the democratic form as Hamburg does, ſhould not eaſily do miſchief here. Before a law comes before a general aſſembly of the people, it has been tried and approved by the wiſer part of them, which renders it not difficult to gain over the reſt to the good ſide, as of courſe they will have confidence in legiſlators originally nominated by themſelves. This legiſlative aſſembly is likewiſe ſo numerous as to render it very difficult for a part to get the maſtery over the whole, by the uſual democratic artifices.

As theſe colleges are eſtabliſhed for a long time, and are not eaſily changed, the members of them are well enough acquainted with the true circumſtances of the commonwealth, to be able to lay before both their reſpective communities, and the burghers in general aſſembly, an accurate and juſt account of the ſenſe of every law, proclamation, or tax. The diviſion of the burgher ſocieties, according to pariſhes, has likewiſe this farther advantage attending it, that family connections do not ſo eaſily acquire a prejudicial influence as they do in republics divided into corporations or private ſocieties. If you will take the trouble to compare this conſtitution with

with that of other commonwealths, many more advantages will immediately ſtrike you.

The council in whoſe hands the executive power is lodged, conſiſts of thirty-ſix perſons, to wit, four burgomaſters, four ſyndics, twenty-four counſellors, and four ſecretaries. Only the burgomaſters and counſellors have votes. It elects its own members by lot. The power being directed only towards the proper execution of the laws in being, is illimited, the natural conſequence of which is, that both the courts of juſtice and the police have a ſtrength here which they have in few republics that are ſo democratic. Nor is government taken in hand here as in other countries, by perſons who have no proper vocation to it. Three of the burgomaſters, the counſellors, and all the ſyndics and ſecretaries, muſt be graduated literati, who have given proofs of their learning. One burgomaſter and ten counſellors muſt, conſiſtently with the nature of the commonwealth, be merchants. The pay of the counſellors is ſufficient to reſtrain the ſpirit of innovation. Honour, virtue and ability, are the moſt likely foundations to ſucceed in being elected. When a counſellor abuſes his power, he is obliged to leave the city. The number of counſellors is too ſmall for the power of private families.

families to be able to put a reſtraint on the adminiſtration of juſtice and police. In a word, the legiſlative power is as gentle and popular as it *can* be; and the executive is, as it *muſt* be, *monarchically* ſtrong. Hamburg is in truth the model of a well-regulated commonwealth. A miſapplication or waſte of the public treaſure happens very ſeldom, and is almoſt impoſſible, as the perſons who are charged with the adminiſtration of it, are no members of the council, but on the contrary are watched over with the greateſt attention by them and the general aſſembly, and are obliged to the greateſt punctuality. They conſiſt of ten perſons ſelected from the general aſſembly, and are choſen out of each pariſh, one by vote and the other by lot. Every ſix years each of the three deputies lays his office down, and his pariſh ſends another in his ſtead. The reaſon of the change is not as in other republics, that all may have a ſhare of the cake, but to free the deputies from a troubleſome and laborious office.

The income of the ſtate is very large. It is made up partly from ſtanding ſources of income, and partly from occaſional taxes granted by the community. Some taxes are voluntary, and the burghers have the right to put what they think their quota into the purſe which is ſhut, and the deputies

deputies dare not open in their preſence. Upon the whole the taxes are conſiderable. In order not to let the mouth of the Elbe, on which the exiſtence of the country depends, be choked up with ſand, and for the maintenance of the ſeveral harbours in it, they have been obliged to raiſe ſome taxes, which in appearance are beyond their means. The aggregate of them together makes about three millions of marks, or four millions of livres, and is hardly ſufficient for the purpoſes required of them.

The quick and conſtant revolutions in the fortunes of every citizen ſecure this commonwealth ſtill more than its conſtitution from the miſchiefs of oligarchy and family plots. They know nothing here of domineering or dangerous houſes, from which none of the republics of the preſent day are free. One ſign of the good government and wonderful adminiſtration of this commonwealth is, that it is almoſt the only imperial city that carries none of the ſuits between its own members before the tribunal of the empire. At Vienna they mentioned to me ſeveral free imperial towns who had rendered themſelves dependant on the emperor, by carrying their private grievances before the emperor's court. In the beginning of this

century

century Hamburg itſelf was expoſed to ſome danger of this kind, but in 1708 it was ſuppreſſed by the benevolent offices of the imperial court, and the zeal of ſeveral patriots of the place, and ſince that time the tranquillity of the country has met with no interruption. The bands of ſociety are too faſt bound for there to be any cauſe of uneaſineſs about future events.

The only real cauſe of apprehenſion which this city has experienced of late years, has ariſen from a miſunderſtood religious zeal; but in our time religious zeal, if it light any fire, can only light up a fire of ſtraw, which is very eaſily put out again. In the inſtance before us, the imperial miniſters, (whom the burgeſſes have more than one cauſe to reſpect) and the wiſdom of the council united, took joint care that the ſparks ſhould be ſmothered before they could break out into a flame. The caſe was this: Hamburg was bleſſed with an orthodox prieſt, who let it want for nothing that could ſtir up a flame. This, by conſtant blowing, he had at length ſo well fed, that the people were for proceeding to action to prevent the catholics from ſerving God in the chapel belonging to the imperial miniſter; but the police took care to prevent the miſchief, which has never ſince broke out to any extent.

There

There is indeed at the head of the preſent clergy, a man who would do our preſent philoſophical age very little credit, were it not that every body knows the government only ſuffers him becauſe they are ſecure that his inquiſitorial ſpirit only hurts himſelf, and cannot have the leaſt bad effect upon others. This gentleman, who is called Goſs, ſome time ſince gave fire in his pulpit againſt the pope and all his adherents; but this produced no other effect than his being compelled to make an apology to the imperial miniſter. The caſe it ſeems was this: When this gentleman firſt aſcended his paper tribunal, the cuſtom ſtill prevailed at Hamburg of curſing the pope and all his adherents publicly in the prayer before ſermon. The government wiſely perceiving that this gave great ſcandal in ſuch times as theſe, ordered the court prieſt to omit this ceremony in future. The love, however, of curſing had taken ſuch firm poſſeſſion of the man, that he not only gave in a formal proteſtation againſt this inroad of the ſpiritual upon the temporal power; but the next Sunday, without waiting to ſee what anſwer his ſuperiors would make, fired a double volley. Upon this, the council took the beſt way of teaching the ill-mannered brute a better

behaviour, by puniſhing him with the loſs of his fat benefice. Mynheer high paſtor had ſoon philoſophy enough to ſee that it was better for him not to curſe than to ſtarve, and ſo the pope and his ſtate had juſtice done them in the ſtate and high church of Hamburg. But though this man has been many times publicly and univerſally hiſſed ſince this event, which took place twelve or fifteen years ago, and though he has been the jeſt of all the proteſtant part of Germany, and even of his own brethren at Hamburg, yet is not his holy head in the leaſt cooled. He raves as publicly againſt the race of monks, as he does againſt the pope. He is the declared enemy of all public amuſements. The theatres are a particular eye-ſore to him. This, as the better part of the public do nothing but amuſe themſelves with him, gave riſe to a very humorous adventure. An Engliſhman who happened to be at the play, was ſo pleaſed with a piece which he ſaw exhibited, that he aſked the gentleman, who ſat next to him the name of the author. The gentleman, whoſe name is Dreyer, happening to be a wit, aſſured the Engliſhman that this very excellent and intereſting drama was written by Mr. Goſs, firſt preacher in Hamburg. The Engliſhman, full of impatience to

be acquainted with ſuch an extraordinary good poet, went the next day to make his bow to the reverend author, who, contrary to his expectation, received the compliment upon the fruit of his brain ſo ill, that he fairly ſhewed him the outſide of his door. Dreyer, who had ſent the Briton on the errand, ſoon after met him in the ſtreet, where the Engliſhman, without entering into the leaſt explanation, gave him ſuch a box on the ear, as very nearly brought him to the ground. Notwithſtanding which, Mr. Dreyer has ſince that time played the antitheatrical prieſt ſeveral other tricks.

I have talked to you thus long of this prieſt, in order to convince you that the proteſtant clergy are not as tolerant throughout Germany as they are in Pruſſia and Saxony. Notwithſtanding this, the religion of the more faſhionable people who inhabit the lower parts of the Elbe, is by no means ſo auſtere as that of thoſe who dwell higher up. The miſtaken zeal againſt public amuſements is attended with this bad conſequence here, that every other kind of pernicious exceſs reigns uncontrolled. Thus whilſt no theatre can ſupport itſelf in a city which has ninety thouſand inhabitants, many thouſand guilders are every day loſt at play during the hours in which it is uſual in other places to go to the play.

LETTER LVII.

Hamburgh.

SINCE my laſt letter, my deareſt brother, I have made an excurſion into the territories of Denmark. As ſoon as I came into Holſtein, which is ſtill a part of Germany, I was ſtruck with the difference of living and manners, as well as the diverſity of agriculture; but when I had got ſome poſts beyond the Eyder, which is the natural boundary between Germany and Denmark, I found a difference betwixt Germany and this country, which was as ſtriking as any betwixt Bavaria and Saxony. When people praiſe proteſtants for their good ſenſe, and freedom from prejudices deſtructive of happineſs, they ought to make ſome limitations; as ſhould proteſtants alſo when they paſs indiſcriminate cenſures on the catholics, for their ſtupidity, lazineſs and debauchery.

The Danes are at leaſt a century behind moſt of the proteſtant ſtates of Germany, and in no reſpects better than the Bavarians or Portugueze. They are the moſt melancholy, moſt untractable, and moſt clowniſh people I have hitherto ſeen. Their debauchery, bigotry and brutality

lity diſtinguiſh them ſo much from the greater part of the Germans, that it is only neceſſary to be amongſt them to be convinced of the inefficacy of religion alone to make men better, when other favourable circumſtances do not concur. There are, it is true, enlightened men amongſt the prieſts of this country, but in general they are as proud, as intolerant, and as ignorant as the Spaniſh prieſts. I ſaw ſome of them who were likewiſe very like the Spaniſh prieſts in their external appearance. They wore their ſpectacles over the noſe, held up their heads, drew back the body, ſpoke through the noſe and throat, and ſtrutted juſt like the prieſts at Barcelona or Saragoſſa. When they ſit down to preach, they do it as if they were in labour with the ſalvation of mankind. I viſited one of them, who paſſes for a great botaniſt, though he knows nothing more than the medicinal plants of his own country. He was ſtudying his ſermon for the next Sunday. It was long a matter of doubt whether or no he would give me an audience. After having converſed for about half an hour upon the wind and weather, with his two daughters, the ſilliеſt and moſt unformed creatures I had ever ſeen, who, out of real or affected modeſty, never truſted themſelves to look in my face, out

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came their bulky and yellow-coloured mother from the ſtudy of her lord and huſband, to aſſure me that he was extremely buſy about his Sunday's diſcourſe, which would however only take him up another hour, after which I ſhould have the honour of ſmoking a pipe of tobacco with him. I was for ſome minutes in doubt whether I ſhould accept of this honour or not. It rather hurt my ſelf-love to think that I was deſtined to ſerve a clowniſh prieſt for the vehiculum to his ſmoking, and I would have gone away, but that I recollected that had I been amongſt the Hottentots, I ſhould have been obliged to pay reſpect to the cuſtoms of the country. After waiting therefore ſome time the penetrale was opened, and I beheld my hero, a ſhort ſquare fat figure, the Trulliber of ſcience, enthroned amidſt a labyrinth of books, and encompaſſed with clouds of ſmoke which ſcarce allowed me to view his viſage. In four or five minutes our converſation was at an end. I tried him every way, but no tone I could take would bring a word out in return. At length, after having obſerved himſelf that ſmoking rather ſpoiled the converſation, he took his ſermon in hand, and read me a period or two by way of enlivening it. Of this I did not hear a word, as the ſmoke of the tobacco

puffed

puffed under my noſe, took away my reſpiration, and obliged me to attend to ſelf-preſervation; but he was determined I ſhould not get off thus, and ſo propoſed to open what he called his treaſure. This was a cheſt which contained all the ſermons he had ever written, making in all eight or ten thick folio volumes. When he took out the firſt a cold ſweat ran down my ſhoulders, which making him apprehenſive that he might kill his patient, he aſſured me he would read only the texts of the ſermons from the tables of contents. I bore it for one table with great reſignation; but as he was taking down the ſecond folio, took my hat and ſtick and hurried to the door. In no proteſtant country which I have yet ſeen, Holland itſelf not excepted, are the prieſts held in ſuch profound reverence by the people as they are in Denmark. Pride and inſolence in the miniſters of a humble religion, is ever a ſure mark of little knowledge and a bad government in the places where it is found. The temporal and ſpiritual powers are by nature ſo jealous of each other, that there muſt always be indolence in the governors when the prieſthood comes to have a certain degree of authority. Every body knows what an influence the Daniſh prieſts had in the fate of Struenſee. You obſerve indeed, in

every part of Denmark, notwithſtanding many foreigners are ſettled there, many marks of the overgrown power of the prieſts. In ſeveral places I found prejudices conceived againſt me, on account of my being a catholic, by people from whom one ſhould have expected better things. At Horſens, a young lady of one of the beſt houſes, could not be perſuaded that the catholics were chriſtians. They look upon us in the ſame light as Jews and heathens. I do not believe that the king of Denmark, as abſolute as his power is, in other things, could make as great advances to toleration, as has been done at Vienna.

The government of Denmark is the moſt deſpotic in the univerſe. This form of government has its advantages and diſadvantages; the ſmallneſs of the country renders it eaſy to govern thus; and on the other hand, this very circumſtance makes the people feel more ſeverely the weakneſs and oppreſſion of its governors. Denmark is in truth the ſmalleſt of all the European powers. It contains hardly 1,800,000 inhabitants, Lapland, Greenland, and Iceland included; and the Holſteiners, who live in a part of Germany, hardly make the number two millions in all. The king of Denmark's income does not amount to

above

above nine millions of Rheniſh florins, or twenty millions of livres,* even with what ariſes from the paſſage of the Sound, which the ſeafaring nations willingly pay. He cannot cope with the elector of Saxony, and the elector of Bavaria is upon a footing with him. Without ſubſidies, the king of Denmark is unable to maintain an army of forty thouſand men and a fleet of twenty ſhips of the line only for a few years. The taxes are very high, and ſome of them are of a ſort which are met with in very few countries. Here a man muſt pay for a licenſe to marry. Our government you know formerly raiſed a tax on bachelors; but the Daniſh and French principles of government are very different.

The emptineſs of the treaſury is the reaſon why more projects are entered into in Denmark than in any other country in the world; but moſt of them are only air bubbles, which are in general blown away by the firſt wind. The private intereſt of the projector is commonly at the bottom of them all, and the court wants not only the power, but the good will to encourage the projects of good patriots. The king, who is the only king in modern hiſtory who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a public trial of his wife, is

* About £83333.

is obliged to leave a great part of the government to his miniſter. His ſtep-mother, it is true, poſſeſſes a great deal of court-craft; but ſtill the miniſters and counſellors have the moſt influence. Amongſt them, there are conſtantly cabals, intrigues, and revolutions, as you may learn from the hiſtory of Struenſee, particularly his apology, which will make every man who reads it exclaim—*Beatus ille qui procul*.—Another firſt miniſter has been lately diſmiſſed.

St. Germain was very ill treated in Copenhagen. The late king called him to his court with a view of having his troops better diſciplined, at a time when it was his intention to take part in the affairs of the north, or at leaſt to make himſelf formidable. St. Germain was told, that he would have the command of fifty or ſixty thouſand men; but when he came, he found hardly any ſoldiers except the guards. The reſt conſiſted partly of a wild undiſciplined militia, and partly of a number of hungry invalids. There was no cavalry at all. The good king, who had only ſeen his troops upon paper, and probably, as he was not born for a numberer of troops, had not ſufficiently conſidered them even there, could not eaſily conceive how his great army ſhould have mouldered away by

St.

St. Germain's arrival. Some of the miniſtry, who governed the paper troops, entertained hopes that St. Germain would play part of the game with them; but he was not the man for their purpoſe, for as ſoon as he found out that part of the ſums deſtined for the payment of the forces went into the purſes of the miniſtry, commiſſaries, and officers, he ſet himſelf with his uſual determined ſpirit to bring about a reformation. He, however, ſoon found out, that even if the abuſes could be corrected, the hopes of having an army able to take part in the affairs of the north, muſt continue a vain expectation. Being ſatisfied, therefore, that where there is nothing, there can be nothing to reform, he told the king, with his uſual freedom, that he ſaw nothing in which he could be of any uſe to his majeſty; on the contrary, he was only a burthen, and in his opinion, it would be moſt adviſeable to ſend him away again.

The miniſters were extremely happy to get rid of ſo troubleſome an inſpector, and the more, becauſe they could not eaſily have got rid of him by a court intrigue, becauſe the king loved him; for court intrigues can do but little againſt extraordinary talents, united with a true knowledge of human nature and courts, where eſpecially,

eſpecially, as the caſe was here, the ſovereign is on the ſide of juſtice as often as he underſtands it. After ſome trifling, and a great many under-hand tricks, the miniſtry propoſed to St. Germain to accept of a certain ſum of money paid once for all, inſtead of the promiſed penſion. Nothing could be more agreeable to him than this, as he knew the unſteadineſs of the Daniſh court. But he was unfortunate in the end, for having never paid any attention to his own private money matters, he thoughtleſly contented himſelf with a letter of credit of fifty or ſixty thouſand thalers, * on a merchant at Hamburgh, whom, on his arrival in that city, he found had become a bankrupt, and was run away from the German ſtates and territory. St. Germain thought, to his laſt hour, that the miniſter was an accomplice in the robbery. It is well known that he was maintained for a long time after by a collection made for him by the officers of our German troops, out of their own allowance. A beautiful trait in the hiſtory of the Daniſh miniſters.

Struenſee, and every other man who had a grain of penetration, thought that the beſt principles of government which the court of Denmark could adopt, would be to make retrenchments

* £2500.

ments of the ſums expended on foreign affairs; not to meddle with the diſputes ſubſiſting between the other German powers; to limit its own eſtabliſhment to what would ſuffice for the maintenance of the internal tranquillity and the police, and to employ all its ſtrength in the cultivation of the waſte lands, and the promotion of induſtry. This is indeed all that experience and patriotiſm united can recommend; for in the preſent circumſtances of the two countries, Denmark has nothing to apprehend from Sweden, or if it had, a word from Ruſſia or Pruſſia would ſet every thing to rights there. But on the other ſide of the country, the firſt elector of Germany who ſhall ſet himſelf to oppoſe an extenſion of the Daniſh power, would reduce the country to great difficulties. The loſs of a ſingle magazine or treaſury would put an end to their whole war apparatus: Nay, even if moſt of their operations did not depend upon foreign ſubſidies, they would not be able to keep the field long againſt a middling German army. The militia of the country, in which the ſtrength of the army principally conſiſts, is raw and unformed, and the German forces, which have been raiſed at a great expence, would deſert the inſtant they ſet foot out of the country; for they all deteſt a climate in which,

which, by reaſon of the unwholeſomneſs of the air, the bad and unuſual food, and the little attention ſhewn to their health, they are expoſed to periſh like ſo many fleas. Whenever I had occaſion to converſe with Germans in the Daniſh ſervice, the tears uſed to run down their cheeks, when they recounted how they had been decoyed away by the crimps, and deſcribed the miſeries of their preſent ſtate. Indeed the inſtances of the extraordinary means they have made uſe of to get out of the deteſted country are almoſt incredible. Beſides all this, there is a want of cavalry, which in the preſent times is ſo ſerviceable, and conſtitutes a fourth part of the German armies. Innumerable ſubſidies indeed would be required to put that of this country upon a reſpectable footing. It cannot be raiſed out of nothing in a minute, on the breaking out of a war; and the maintenance of it in time of peace demands an expence which the reſources of the ſtate, with all the ſubſidies they can procure, are not equal to. The times are paſt, in which wonders could be done with a handful of undiſciplined and diſobedient troops, who were maintained at the coſt of the enemy. The mode of war now in uſe requires preparation, and a proviſion for ſuch and ſo many wants as would make the Daniſh miniſter's hair ſtand an end, if an account of them were to be

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ſet before him. Suppoſing the Daniſh court to receive a ſubſidy of even a million of thalers* per annum, which is more than the French or Engliſh courts have ever given to the courts of Stockholm or Copenhagen, this would hardly be ſufficient to enable it to keep the field one campaign with an army of 40,000 men, and it would be completely ruined by the loſs of a ſingle battle. The ſhort campaign in the Bavarian war ſome years ago, though no extraordinary ſtroke was ſtruck in it, coſt the court of Vienna ſeventy-two millions of Rheniſh guilders,* excluſive of the ſums expended on previous preparations, which are always neceſſary. The army was at leaſt three hundred thouſand men ſtrong. Calculate what the proportion will be for forty thouſand men—but what would forty thouſand men do, if, what however is impoſſible, the court of Denmark alone was to carry on any operations for a length of time out of its own territories? The king of Pruſſia would ſwallow up this army in a moment, let him have ever ſo much occupation; for it is a maxim, that when a man is once engaged with great enemies, he will do well to add leſſer ones to them, as a ſingle ſtroke may get from theſe all that is loſt on the other ſide. What became of the Swediſh

* £1,400,000.

diſh army, whom French ſubſidies led into Pomerania, in the laſt Sileſian war? And yet the king of Pruſſia had at that time to cope with moſt of the principal powers in Europe. What became of the poor Saxons? of the poor army of the empire? And yet the Saxon and Imperial troops were better kept, and at leaſt as well fed, as the Daniſh are likely to be.

Denmark cannot, like Sweden, be compelled in any caſe to break the neutrality, nor is it neceſſary for it, on that account, always to maintain itſelf in a reſpectable ſituation. For more reaſons than one, it has nothing to apprehend from Sweden, and its poſition ſecures it on every other ſide. Indeed, could it render its power ever ſo reſpectable, it has nothing to expect at any time by taking part in an offenſive war, but a great deal to loſe; whereas the advantages it would derive from beſtowing the ſums waſted in military preparations on the improvement of the country, are conſiderable. I have been thus particular on this point, in order to convince you and your friends, that our court added a new folly to the many it has lately been guilty of, when, for certain privy purpoſes it gave ſubſidies to the Daniſh court.

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The money was in every reſpect thrown away. Half of it ſtuck to the fingers of the Daniſh miniſters and commiſſaries, and the other half was very ill ſpent. Strong as all theſe reaſons are againſt the keeping up a great land army in Denmark, every day produces freſh projects to encourage it. The vain miniſter, whom Struenſee has ſo well depicted in his apology, will not let the world forget that Denmark is a monarchy. He gives himſelf airs of aſtoniſhing conſequence. A few external marks of reſpect from the great courts, make him believe that he is reſpected, whereas he is in fact the jeſt of them all. A ſingle word from the Ruſſian miniſter brings the whole country to the Empreſs's feet; and ſhe has at leaſt twenty times more weight at Copenhagen, than either at Vienna or at Berlin. It will certainly be much more politic in Denmark to aim only at being a maritime power, which is more conſiſtent with the nature of the country, and the ſituation of the people. By purſuing this plan the Danes might, with ſome aſſiſtance, make themſelves formidable, or at leaſt protect their merchants in time of war. But the Daniſh miniſter chooſes to ſhine both by ſea and land. The navy accordingly conſiſts of fifty ſhips, including thoſe of fifty guns; however, not above ſix

of theſe are in a condition to put to ſea under ſix or eight weeks, though ſince the armed neutrality they have been making all ſort of preparation to put to ſea. Many ſhips have been repaired within theſe ſix or eight years, and others are no longer in a reparable ſtate.

The facility with which adventurers of the firſt claſs contrive to make their way into the Daniſh councils, and even into the miniſtry, is no very favourable ſymptom of the wiſdom of this court. There is a proverb at Hamburgh, that when a man is fit for nothing elſe, he is fit for a Daniſh privy counſellor, and may make his fortune by projects at Copenhagen. Under ſuch circumſtances much patriotiſm is not to be expected. Upon the whole, the Daniſh government is a viſible proof, that deſpotiſm, notwithſtanding all its great apparent force, is the weakeſt of all governments, when the head is not very ſound and ſtrong. The miniſters ride on the counſellors, the counſellors on the ſecretaries, the ſecretaries on their clerks, and the wives of all theſe on their lovers. It ſometimes happens too that the miniſter is governed by the counſellor, the counſellor by the clerk, and ſo on; all this produces an abſolute anarchy, and the quiet and happineſs of the country depends upon the throwing the handkerchief to this or

that woman. It is no wonder, that in a court like this many cataſtrophes happen ſimilar to that which took place ten years ago. Prince Frederick, the king's brother-in-law, promiſes the country ſome hopes of better days. He ſeems to be more diſpoſed to do what is right, than to govern by faction or intrigue. His influence is however hitherto very limited.

On my return out of Lapland, I came hither by Lubeck. That place, which formerly played ſo great a part in the league of the Hantz cities, has ſcarce half the importance of Hamburgh in point either of population, riches, or trade. The Daniſh miniſter ſets his whole force againſt this place, as he has only Hamburgh and it to fear. At Lubeck, however, his principal operations are confined for the preſent, for though he makes the poor town feel what he would do by every petty injury in his power, he dares not hitherto come to open hoſtilities, as it is protected by the emperor and the ſtates of the empire. He is therefore compelled to change his ſiege into a kind of blockade. The bond of union betwixt the German imperial towns operates much more forcibly with regard to foreign powers, than is commonly imagined; and the article in the emperor's coronation oath, not to allow of any diminution of the empire, is

maintained in its full force under Joſeph the Second. It is indeed this article which compels our court to treat the ſmall princes its neighbours who border on Germany with much more attention and reſpect than it ſhews towards the other ſovereign ſtates in its neighbourhood. It would not dare, for inſtance, to act towards the imperial ſtate of Spires, as it has lately done towards Geneva, where it interpoſed with ſuch great effect, after having formally renounced the mediation, and having hardly any bond of union with the city.

LETTER LVIII.

Hanover.

ALL the country, dear brother, which lays to the north and north-weſt of this, and is watered by the Elbe and the Embs, is partly ſand, and partly mud and moraſs. Indeed the mud which is thrown up by the ſea and rivers, is looked upon here as a paradiſaical earth, as it affords the inhabitants bread and hay, whilſt the higher countries are nothing but ſand. Here, my dear brother, a man perceives, for the firſt time,

the bleſſings of a mountainous country. Through the whole road, from Hamburgh to Embden, and from thence through a great part of Weſtphalia to this place, I did not ſee a ſingle hill, a ſingle laughing landſcape, ſhady foreſt, beautiful wood, or, in brief, any of the things which can give a fillip to life. In Weſtphalia I ſaw large heaths which were ſtill more barren than thoſe of Jutland. The whole country has been ſubject to revolutions. It is a bottom of ſand, which the rivers from the higher parts of Germany have formed, and to which they are conſtantly adding. In ſome parts the ſea adds a quantity of mud, and in others entirely demoliſhes the barriers oppoſed to it, ſo that the inhabitants have conſtantly to contend with the water and frogs. The rivers overflow every year, and lay the country for many miles under water. The innundations of the Weſer are particularly terrible. When they happen, the cities and villages are as it were in the midſt of a ſea, and ſeem to form ſo many iſlands. The conſequences of this are agues, colds, and fevers, which would commit vaſt ravages amongſt the poor people, were it not that cuſtom renders them hardy, and that they are in the habit of warming their inſides well with brandy. To a ſtranger, however, the country muſt be ex-

tremely unwholeſome in winter and ſpring. The inhabitants are all through of the ſnail order, yellow ſkinned, ſoft fleſhed, and full of wrinkles. Their ſmall round figures are very ſtriking when you compare them to the tall long Germans of the ſouthern parts. You hardly ever ſee roſy cheeks among the men of the country, and but very ſeldom among the women. They live here as in Denmark, ſailor-like, upon ſhell-fiſh, (which they render very palatable) fiſh, fruits, and brandy, of which laſt the wives of the common people take large bumpers. Of the fine fruits and excellent vegetables which the other Germans, particularly the Suabians and inhabitants about the Rhine, are ſo fond of, they know nothing. The people are ſtupid, naturally melancholy, and generally ſpeaking dirty; they are not, however, particularly in the Hanoverian country, ſo ferocious and ill-natured as the Danes. Many of the farmers here are very rich. The facility with which they diſpoſe of their crops, the great fertility of their marſhes, their fiſheries, the great extent of land they poſſeſs amongſt the heaths, (which may always be uſed for paſtures) and the government, which is ever very gentle, ſecure them advantages which the inhabitants of many countries in which nature has poured out all her

her abundance, do not enjoy. In many parts of Weſtphalia I ſaw no ſmall villages, but the whole country belonged to ſome great landlords, whoſe eſtates reached many miles in circumference. There are, however, likewiſe ſome very ſmall farmers. Thoſe particularly who dwell on this ſide the Weſer, about Bremen and Delmenhorſt, appear in general not to be in very good circumſtances. In many places they have their cattle in their houſes; and I have been twice forced to reſt upon a ſtraw bed amongſt the cows, which is indeed an accident that is ſure to happen to a knight-errant of my complexion, as ſoon as he goes a ſtep out of the great roads. In the ſmall villages there are no inns, and a man is forced to put up with the ſmall farmers, who have nothing to ſet before him but brandy and potatoes, or ſome ſalted bacon, and brown bread made of bran. I cannot conceive how our troops did to exiſt in this country during the laſt Sileſian war.

Bremen is a very rich city, containing about five and twenty thouſand inhabitants. It drives a very large trade for iron, flax, hemp, and linen, with France, England, Spain, and Portugal, and in return takes back other proviſions, with which it ſupplies Weſtphalia and the countries about Hanover. It alſo gets a great deal by

its fiſheries; the trade for blubber with the ſouth of Germany is very conſiderable. Stiff and ſullen as the inhabitants of the country are in general, you meet with ſome very ſociable and converſable people amongſt them.

Embden is by no means ſo fine a place as Bremen. The king of Pruſſia has taken an everlaſting diſlike to the inhabitants of this city, who, to ſay the truth, when taken in the lump, are not a very amiable people. They are very remarkable for their lazineſs and inſenſibility. It was a great while before the good endeavours of the king to turn this people to commerce and ſhip-building were attended with any ſucceſs. The Eaſt India Company, which he had eſtabliſhed at a great expence in this city, was ruined within a few years of its erection, and certain republican prejudices, which the burghers of this city affected, rendered all the king's other efforts for a time ineffectual. At length the activity and wiſdom of the government, attended with ſome fortunate circumſtances, got the better of the impediments to that extenſion of commerce for which the city is particularly well ſituated. The herring fiſhery, which the king took every ſtep in his power to encourage, brings in large ſums of money every year. The American war aſſiſted the king's deſigns very much,

much; and the trade of the place now begins to be very flouriſhing. Embden imports many Weſtphalian linens to the ſouth countries, and provides a part of Weſtphalia with ſpices and wines. They have alſo a conſiderable trade in cheeſe. Their harbour is extremely good.

The duchies of Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt, which the king of Denmark, at the deſire of the Ruſſian court, exchanged for a part of Holſtein, with a prince of Gottorp, now make a very good principality, which contains ſeventy-five thouſand people, and yields every year about four hundred thouſand Rheniſh guilders*. It is from all theſe countries, but particularly from Frieſland, that they procure the ſtrong fine coach-horſes who trot ſo proudly over the pavement of many Italian cities, and are ſometimes, though ſeldomer, met with in France. The court of Peterſburgh buys up ſeveral of theſe horſes to mount its heavy cavalry, who look very formidable on this terrible cattle. The Dutch cuiraſſiers are ſupplied from Holſtein, and in truth the horſes of that country are preferable to thoſe of Frieſland and Oldenburg for this ſervice, as with the ſame ſtrength they connect more alacrity and life.

Hanover, conſider it in what light you will, is a very

* Forty thouſand pounds.

a very fine city. The number of its inhabitants is about twenty thouſand. There are very good ſocieties here, to which the officers contribute not a little. The nobility is as poliſhed and refined in its manners as that of any other German city. The country, which hereabouts begins to be more elevated, is not quite ſo ugly as the deeper country round the Weſer. Prince Frederick, the king's ſecond ſon, reſides here at preſent, and makes a particular circle of the inhabitants very happy. He is biſhop of Oſnaburg, which principality produces him, yearly, a revenue of one hundred and eighty thouſand Rheniſh florins. Having come to this very early in life, and his indulgent father having given up to him, when he comes of age, all the province of the biſhopric, without any deduction whatever, he will have an income of three millions of florins, or three hundred thouſand pounds. They wiſh and hope here, that in proceſs of time he will be declared governor of his father's poſſeſſions in this country, and reſide conſtantly. His great income will make this a conſiderable advantage to the city in point of intereſt, and his wonderful education gives the whole country hopes of a wiſe and gentle adminiſtration.

Though

Though ſome parts of the electorate of Hanover are very fertile, yet, upon the whole, it is the moſt miſerable part of all Germany. It is about ſeven hundred German miles in circumference, but hardly contains ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants; nay, ſome think this is going too far, for though they have numbered one hundred thouſand houſes, our commiſſaries in the laſt war, who numbered the people, could not make more of them than five hundred thouſand ſouls in all the Hanoverian dominions. But put them at ſeven hundred thouſand, ſtill you will find no other country of the like extent in all Germany, which does not contain more than one thouſand ſouls for every ſquare mile. The difference betwixt Hanover and Suabia, Saxony, Auſtria, Bohemia, and the other parts of Germany, is ſtill more conſiderable; for each of theſe ſtates has two thouſand five hundred ſouls for every ſquare mile, and ſome of them much more. The cauſe of the ſlender population is almoſt intirely owing to nature. The country abounds in ſand-heaths, which it is almoſt impoſſible to cultivate. Almoſt the whole country between Hamburgh and this place is a deep ſand. The difference in point of riches is ſtill more conſiderable. The whole revenues of Hanover amount only to four hundred

and

and eighty thouſand guilders; of which the mines in the Harts alone contribute one hundred thouſand. The country belonging to the elector of Saxony, which is very little larger, bring in nearly as much again.

The government of this country is gentle. The great offices of ſtate are held by active and enlightened patriots. Nothing is known here of extorting money from the poor. Little of the money of this country goes to London; but almoſt the whole is ſpent in the improvement of the country. The army, which conſumes the greateſt part of it, is large, and conſiſts of twenty thouſand men. They are the beſt fed of all the German troops, but are not near ſo well diſciplined as either the Pruſſian or Auſtrian armies. This, however, is the ſofteſt of all the German governments, and there is a ſpirit of liberty throughout, which is a ſtrong contraſt to what you meet with in other parts of the country. I had hardly been three days here when I made an excurſion to Brunſwick. Germany has few princes of whom it has ſo much right to be proud, as of this. It was with a kind of enthuſiaſm that I looked upon one of the firſt heroes of Germany, though he had become ſuch at our expence. The reigning duke is one of the firſt generals of the Pruſ-

ſian

ſian army. He is a conſummate ſtateſman, and the favourite of the king of Pruſſia. I need only mention prince Ferdinand to you, to convince you how glad I muſt have been to ſee him. He is only known to you as a terrible enemy; but his good heart, his extended underſtanding, his active zeal for the intereſt of mankind as far as his ſphere reaches, and his affability towards every man; would ſoon make you forget that he was your enemy, if you knew him better.

Brunſwick is the rendezvous of the German free-maſons, at the head of whom the prince is. Moſt of the proteſtant princes in Germany are members of this numerous order. It is not long ſince the ſyſtem of the German lodges has been fixed, and that they have acquired a kind of conſiſtency. Germany in general is much indebted to this order, as it is certainly owing to maſonry that many of its princes have become much more affable and gentle in their manners than they were before.

Four princes of this illuſtrious houſe fought in the laſt Sileſian war, for the honour and freedom of Germany. The youngeſt of them, only ſeventeen years of age, died covered with wounds, under a heap of Huſſars, who had been the witneſſes of his valour, and whom he comforted to his lateſt breath. Probably you may

may not know that this is the elder branch of the houſe of Brunſwick, and that the king of Great Britain deſcends from a younger ſon. Brunſwick is a very handſome city. It carries on a very thriving trade, and has a great number of manufactures. The number of inhabitants, amongſt whom you meet with exceeding good company, conſiſts of at leaſt twenty-four thouſand. The whole income of the preſent duke is eſtimated at one million three hundred thouſand Rheniſh florins, or one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds.

LETTER LIX.

Caſſel.

THAT ideal beauty, my deareſt brother, which dances before the eyes of our artiſts, though it ſo often vaniſhes under their pencils, was certainly never taken from Germany. All the human figures you meet with between this place and the Northern and Eaſtern Seas, are ſo far from poſſeſſing it, that there are no lines of it to be diſcovered amongſt them.

You

You would in vain look for a girl's body reſembling the Grecian model. There are, it is true, faces enough with very ſoft ſtrokes in them, but they all want the Greek profile and ſpirit. Nor has the fine white fleſh the firmneſs inſeparable from a truly fine form.

In the lower parts of the Elbe and Weſer, you ſee indeed ſome ſnow boſoms, and ſome lily and roſy cheeks, but they ſoon vaniſh when the girls have once paſſed their bloom, and the whole is ſo flat and lifeleſs, that you cannot give it the name of a fine form. Even amongſt the Saxons, the faireſt creatures under the ſun who are not Grecians, you ſeldom meet with a face which has any appearance of ideal beauty; and yet theſe are in the north, what the women of Florence are in the ſouth, and far exceed all their countrywomen in life and ſpirit.

The men of the north are equally deſtitute of ideal beauty. Winckelman, himſelf, thinks that better models for the ſtudy of male beauty are to be met with in Naples and Sicily, than amongſt his countrymen the Saxons, though they are, without any compariſon, the handſomeſt of the northern nations.

It is well known that no German will attempt to vie with the inhabitants of the ſouthern

countries

countries in point of beauty; but when you tell a German that the inhabitants of the ſouth are ſtronger and more durably built than thoſe of the north, they look upon this as a great paradox—and yet ſtrength is the principal point of manly beauty. Have you ever ſeen a Sicilian wreſtle with an Hanoverian or Weſtphalian? I conſider wreſtling as the greateſt proof of ſtrength. I alſo believe that you would not find in all the north a porter like the Genoeſe or Neapolitan carrier, that is, a man able to carry four hundred pounds weight for a conſiderable way. Nor do I think that if both were put into the ſame circumſtances, as much could be done with German troops as with Spaniſh ones. We are not now to conſider that in the preſent days the latter are ſo much excelled in diſcipline; for in Charles the Fifth's time they were both alike. But the German troops in Spain and Italy ſerved only once; and few of the armies which the emperors carried into Italy with them ever came home. On the contrary, the Spaniards under Charles the Fifth fought many battles with great reputation on the Rhine, as well as in Holland, the climate of which is ſo different from their own; they ſhewed more valour, and bore more fatigues than the inhabitants themſelves, who muſt have been

been ſubdued had it not been that they were aſſiſted by external circumſtances, and that the prince of Orange's ſpirit did more than all the Mynheers put together.

The national pride of the Germans has led them to give themſelves a pre-eminence over the ſouthern nations, which hiſtory, nature and appearances, equally give the lye to. They imagine that underſtanding, courage, activity, ſtrength, and liberty, are the natural appendages of their thick and foggy air; and that the ſouth is the natural habitation of ſtupidity, indolence, cowardice, and tyranny. On the contrary, conſider what is depoſed by *hiſtory*, *appearances*, and *nature*. *Hiſtory* teaches us that light is come into the world from the ſouth; *appearances* teach us that the Spaniards and Italians are much more frugal in eating and drinking, and probably too in the enjoyments of love than the Germans, amongſt whom we include the Danes, the Swedes, the Ruſſians, and the Poles: and *nature* teaches us that bodily and mental beauty are commonly to be found where the great creator of the bodies of men has appointed the fineſt forms, and the greateſt ſtrength. Let us examine this poſition a little more fully: Compare the underſtandings of men, as they are more and more removed

from the happy air of Greece, Aſia Minor, and Italy, till you come to the North Pole, and you will find that nature does not ſuffer the inhabitants of the coaſt of Barbary, the Arabs, the people of the coaſt of Guinea, and the Abyſſinians, to ſink into the ſame degree of indolence and cowardice as the Greenlanders, the Samoyedes, and the Laplanders. What aſtoniſhing proofs do the negroes give us of bodily ſtrength, courage, and coolneſs of intrepidity; a ſure ſign that the warm and genial air of the ſouth, raiſes human nature, and that the bitter and cold blaſts of the north depreſs it.

But perhaps you will tell me that at preſent the inhabitants of the north, excel thoſe of the ſouth. I allow it; but it proves nothing more than that religion, manners, and government, have more influence over men than climate. But theſe very manners, cuſtoms, and arts of government, which in the preſent century give the north ſuch an advantage over the ſouth, came originally from the ſouth. What are our republics more than copies of the Greek and Roman? Crippled as our legiſlation is, in compariſon of thoſe of Carthage, Egypt, Rome, and Athens, it is only what we have been able to gather out of the ruins of thoſe ſtates. Have the Pruſſian tactics any thing better in

them

them than the Macedonian phalanx was? Can any one be ſurpriſed that the people who dwelt near the Elbe and Weſer, ſhould have overcome Varus, when we ſee that the North Americans, by nature the moſt cowardly, and at the breaking out of the war the moſt undiſciplined people upon earth, are able, by the advantages of their woods, rivers, pools, and the extent of their uncultivated country, to oppoſe all the force Great Britain can bring againſt them? And yet the climate of North America is not ſo adverſe to the Engliſh, as that of the ſouth of Germany muſt have been to the Romans; nor was Germany at that time nearly ſo well cultivated as North America now is? Let a man conceive Varus's army on the river St. Lawrence, lake Superior, the lake of the Illinois, and the upper regions of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſtill he will have no true idea of their ſituation in Germany. They were far from poſſeſſing the facilities of providing for the exigencies of war, which they would have had in North America. Germany was at that time an uninterrupted wood; its rivers were not confined within a ſtanding bed, but in ſeveral places formed immenſe moraſſes, too many and too viſible marks of which ſtill remain.

The inhabitants of Germany, who afterwards ſubdued the ſouth, were no doubt indebted for this advantage to the wars which the Romans had before waged againſt them, juſt as the Turks and North Americans have become good ſoldiers by their wars with the Ruſſians and Britons. What think you if any body had told the Scipios that ſome time or other the conquerors of Rome ſhould come out of the Hercinian foreſts? would they have attributed any thing to the climate? No, they would have anſwered that the manners, conſtitution, and armies of Rome muſt firſt be changed; and that was the caſe.

But what became of theſe northern conquerors when the luxury of the inhabitants of the ſouth had ſubdued their natures, and made them vaſſals to them? Were they not like the overflowings of their own rivers, which thaw after a long froſt, and lay waſte the fields far and near with ice and ſand? All the conquerors of the ſouth, *enlightened* and *erected*; whereas all the conquerors of the north *darkened* and *pulled down?* This was the caſe both before and after the Roman æra. The Babylonians and Egyptians, ſuppoſing the accounts of the expeditions of the latter to be true, were benevolent conquerors,

querors, like the Greeks and Macedonians. But what were the Scythians? The Arabs ſpread arts, ſciences, and humanity, wherever they extended their power. But what darkneſs enſued when the northern Turks had extended the bounds of their empire? It is a ſtriking inſtance of the bodily weakneſs of the northern nations, that they always become enervated as ſoon as they have been ſome time in the ſouth, which they never could cope with long; whereas no hiſtory informs us of the climate of the north ever having been fatal to the ſtrength and activity of the Romans. How did Cæſar's troops hold out in Gaul, Britany, and Holland? How did the Romans behave under the emperors on the Rhine, the Danube, and the neighbourhood of the Elbe and Weſer? You tell us it is the climate which prevents the northern people from being hardy in the ſouth. But were the Romans effeminate when their forefathers eat oatmeal pap? Were the Spartans or Macedonians effeminate? The generality of the Spaniards and Italians of this day, are by no means a weak people. It is not therefore the climate alone which makes the difference. It is rather the weak nervous ſyſtem of the northern nations which renders them unable to bear

the contraſt of the hot days and cold nights, which braces up the ſtrong-built natives; nor can they ſupport the change made in their way of life. The great bodies of the Dutch, Danes, and Poles, are bare lumps of fleſh and bones, the former of which is diſguſtingly flabby. On the other hand, the lighter Italians, as well as the darker Spaniards, are more ſinewy, and more muſcular, which is the true character of bodily ſtrength. Nor are the minds of the northern nations leſs weak than their bodies. A proof of it is, their never having been able to eſtabliſh laſting empires in their ſouthern conqueſts. Their kingdoms were a bare accident of fortune, and they never had felicity of genius enough to form plans or knit the ſocial band. How differently did the nations of the ſouth, particularly the Romans, manage their conqueſts? juſt as if they were ſtill a freſh people, and had known nothing of ſciences or arts!

In general nature diſplays far different vigour, a far more magnificent ſpirit of creation in the ſouth, than what ſhe does in the northern provinces. What riches, and variety, and ſtrength, is in the vegetable kingdoms of the ſouth? The ſhrub which furniſhes the balſam of Mecca, and the plants from Ceylon and the Molucca iſlands,

iſlands, ſhame the unfruitfulneſs of the earth near the poles; and the vigour of nature ſeems evidently to decreaſe in proportion as we recede from the equator. Our ſavoury fruits have all come to us from the ſouth; and the better taſted and more ſpirited they are the leſs able are they to bear the north. The nobler fruits, juſt like the generous wines, which gladden and make ſtrong the heart of man, cannot take root in the north. In the ſame manner in the mineral kingdom, nature ſhews herſelf more venerable in the ſouth, than ſhe does in the north.—And in the animal world! How very different are the beaſts of the ſouth to thoſe of the north! Why then ſhould not nature, which weaves every thing elſe more ſtrongly in a warm climate, alſo weave man more ſtrongly there? It is true, indeed, that underſtanding and morals are no excluſive property of any ſtrip of land. They depend on laws, cuſtoms, education, and government; which may, and often do render the artificial man ſuperior to the natural one. But the natural underſtanding awakes ſooner from its ſleep in a warm country, than it does in a cold one. Under a warm ſun abſtract ideas are much quicker formed. The ſenſes are much clearer here; and the underſtanding depends on

the quickneſs of the ſenſes. Imagination, which is ſo connected with all the operations of the ſun, has more force in Sicily than in Iceland. The firſt force of the impreſſions made by the ſenſes, give the powers of the mind an alacrity in the ſouthern countries, which is the true character of genius, and which the inhabitants of the north cannot reach by any cold abſtractions which they may arrive at, from their manners, cuſtoms, or government. Nor are the fine moral feelings ſo independant of the fine ſenſual ones, as ſome philoſophers, who know little of human nature, are willing to imagine. The Germans, who charge the French, Italians, and all the ſouthern nations, with indolence, ſlavery, and debaſement of mind, forget that the Siberians and Kamtſchatdales, amidſt their almoſt eternal ices and ſnows, are, according to the accounts of all travellers, the moſt cowardly, moſt ſenſual, moſt debaſed, and moſt enſlaved people upon earth. Nor can the glow of liberty be ſo thoroughly ſtifled in Italy as it is in ſeveral northern countries, which appear the ſeat of deſpotiſm; nay, the governments of France and Spain themſelves, are not ſo deſpotick as many Germans pleaſe themſelves in believing them to be. The clear and dry air of the ſouth,

elevates

elevates the ſoul juſt as it gives tone to the nerves. All the perſons who have breathed a fine weſtern air in the mountains, ſpeak of feelings which they knew not in the plains. So the air of the ſouth of Europe is as different from that of the north, as the air of the Swiſs Alps is different from that of the plains. As a proof of this, the hectic Engliſh go to Niſmes, Nice, Piſa, and Naples, to repair their ſhattered conſtitutions.

But it is true, after all, that the inhabitants of the Elbe and Weſer, though thus abandoned by nature, exceed the Sicilians and Neapolitans as much in ſtrength of mind, as they are outdone by them in bodily ſtrength and beauty. It is true; and what then? The liberal citizen of the world admires the omnipotence of government, which is able to raiſe men ſo far above their natural ſituation, or to ſink them ſo deep below it; but he does not therefore allow himſelf to contract illiberal prejudices againſt any nation. He congratulates the northern nations upon their having made themſelves what they are, and rejoices that they are every day becoming greater and greater; but he does not forget that the people of the ſouth were ſooner great, and that the arts of cultivation, and light of all kinds came from them.

You will eaſily perceive, from the nature of theſe ſpeculations, that they were made in the poſt-waggon. My company conſiſted of a ſwine of an Oldenburgh dealer in horſes, a clodpole Bremen broker, and a pretty female piece of fleſh, mere dead fleſh, lying before me on the ſtraw. There was not a word ſpoke all the way from Gottingen here; ſo that if the *dulcis et alta quies* had not been now and then interrupted by coughing, ſneezing, belching, and the like, I ſhould not have known that I had company with me.

At Gottingen I viſited ſeveral profeſſors, to whom I cannot refuſe my utmoſt veneration, but who were all ſo convinced of the cultivation of Germany, and ſo ſore ſet againſt, as Southlanders, that I did not know how to reconcile it with their knowledge of mankind. All theſe gentlemen ſpoke to me of the political and literary ſituation of their own country with a veneration which often bordered on the ridiculous. This ariſes partly from national pride, partly from partiality to their own country, and partly from true rank *Charlataniſm*. Theſe gentlemen look upon our goverment as the quinteſſence of deſpotiſm, our academies as hoſpitals for fools, our ſoldiers as women, and our writers, to whom however, as appears from their writings, they are ſo much indebted,

as

as petit maitres. In a word, they conſider the ſouth as the kingdom of darkneſs and tyranny, and allow more ſenſe and knowledge of things, to the Danes, Swedes, and Ruſſians, than to the moſt reſpectable people in the ſouth. It was this abſurdity which gave riſe to my ſpeculations in the poſt waggon, which were however much interrupted by ſtrong jolts. Amongſt other perſons I viſited here was Profeſſor Schloſſer, whom I found unjuſt towards us, out of mere party motives. Poſſibly there are few hiſtorians in the world who know ſo many hiſtorical facts as this gentleman does. I found a moſt unexpected and extraordinary fund of knowledge of modern hiſtory about him. He poſſeſſes an infinite number of living languages. His humour, which is ſomewhat too ſharp and ſatyrical, does not always make him amiable as a private man, but often produces very good effects as a writer. What he is moſt diſtinguiſhed by is his journal. It is publiſhed under the name of Political Letters, and is one of the moſt generally ſpread about in Germany, and other neighbouring countries, though Mr. Linguet has thought proper to call it *peu connu*. It is not like the Engliſh, Dutch, and French journals, which conſiſt moſtly of declamation, and reflections, which are commonly founded

founded on falſe facts and falſe reaſoning. Schloſſer's journal contains for the moſt part only records, to which he ſometimes adds ſhort notes, always intereſting, and ſometimes very ſevere, but for the collection of which future hiſtorians will be obliged to him. Falſe facts ſometimes ſlip in, but theſe are generally rectified in the courſe of time; and upon the whole, there is no work from which a man may gather the preſent ſtate of politics, particularly thoſe of one part of Germany, ſo well as from this. It contains numerous liſts of the population and income of many German ſtates, and alſo of their agriculture and induſtry. As Mr. Schloſſer is particularly bent on hunting down the follies and ſultaniſm of German princes, together with abſurdities, barbarity, and monkiſm, he is not wanting in intereſting anecdotes, which often give occaſion to ſtill more intereſting explanations. This journal may indeed be conſidered as one of the ſureſt bars againſt the tyranny of the leſſer princes of Germany: And it is certainly known that it has produced great effects in ſeveral courts. Perſons of the firſt rank, and often princes themſelves, ſend the author papers. The plan of this journal is as advantageous to the editor as it is to the public. It ſupports itſelf by the contributions of ſtrangers,

gers, and is not odious by any ſelfiſh or party remarks of the editors; all works of knowledge are acceſſible to the author, and the leſſer princes who have any ſhame left are compelled to ſtand in fear of the ſtrong cenſor who publickly expoſes their ſhame. Mr. Schloſſer makes uſe of all the freedom which the place of his reſidence allows him; and he often gives very intereſting accounts of other countries beſides Germany in his journal. The reputation of the work encreaſes every day more and more, and he may be aſſured that he will ſoon be univerſally read in his native country. In my own opinion, a ſingle number of this work has more merit than all Linguet's Annals put together, at leaſt it contains more truth. This journal marks the learned character of the Germans extremely well. In the German hiſtorians and politicians there appears no marks of the acute obſervation, the piercing conjecture, and the elegant portraitures of men and manners, which diſtinguiſh the Engliſh hiſtorians and politicians. Every thing with them is made up of dry matter of fact, which they endeavour to eſtabliſh ſo as to ſet it above the power of attack. The genuine lover of truth, who loves it for itſelf, and does not deſire a particle of wit to be ſpent in its ſupport, had rather

rather read a dry liſt of population in Schloſſer's letters, than all the pompous declamations of the Engliſh travellers and politicians, who are often brought to ſhame by a few cyphers they read in this book. In every part of literature the Germans diſtinguiſh themſelves from other nations in the ſame way.

Gottingen is a pretty little city, containing about eighty thouſand ſouls, the territory about it is pleaſanter, and produces more than that of any other part of Hanover I have ſeen. It ſubſiſts entirely by the univerſity, which is one of the beſt I have ſeen. There are Ruſſian, Daniſh, Swediſh, and Engliſh, * as well as German ſtudents in it. The ſtudents here are about eight hundred, and the profeſſors, including the dancing and fencing maſters, are about ſixty.

The king of Great Britain ſpares no expence to bring theſe higher ſort of ſchools into repute. The library, which is kept up at his expence, and is always encreaſing, is as numerous as it is well diſpoſed. The phyſical apparatus, aſtronomical inſtruments, the collection of natural hiſtory,

* The Engliſh have, I am informed, been lately almoſt baniſhed; at leaſt the profeſſors do not deſire the company of young men ſo totally loſt to what ought to be the glory of young men as they for the moſt part are.

hiſtory, the chirugical inſtruments, the botanical garden, every thing, in a word, beſpeaks royal care.

The way, in the Proteſtant univerſities, of going through all the ſciences in half-yearly courſes, which diſpleaſed Mr. Pilati ſo much, has my full approbation. Though it may be calculated for the advantage of the pockets of the profeſſors, the ſcholars loſe nothing by it. No ſciences are *thorcughly* learned at any univerſity. All that can be done, and that is done, is to give the ſtudent the elements of them, to let him have a notion of the parts of the building, and ſhew him the eaſieſt way of coming at it. It depends upon him afterwards to travel the whole of the road. If the young man lays his foundation right, the half year's courſe is as profitable to him as it is to the maſter. It ſpares his time and money. When a young man comes here they commonly lay a *Programma* before him, in which all the arts are diſpoſed according to their natural order, and likewiſe according to their connection with each other. In conſequence of this it happens not unfrequently that a ſtudent attends ſix or ſeven courſes in a day. What then? you will tell me he will only be confined by the variety of knowledge.

knowledge. I believe not. The generality of young men will not be at the pains of digging deep for themſelves. Lectures make a deeper impreſſion on the mind than the ſilent meditation of a cloſet. We muſt likewiſe conſider that the profeſſors are able to give the marrow and reſult of the whole.

I do not approve of the lectures being paid for by the ſtudents. It is true, that it tends to keep up the ſpirit and emulation of the profeſſors; but their independence of the ſtudents, were it otherwiſe, would in my opinion be attended with much more beneficial conſequences. All that can leſſen the reverence of the ſcholar towards the maſter ought to be avoided with the greateſt caution. The ſtudens are, it is true, for the moſt part, well educated young men; but ſtill they are too young to know how to eſteem a man of merit according to his real abilities. Too much reverence for him that teaches ſeldom does any harm to him that is to be taught. In ſhort, cabals, conſpiracies, with a number of inferior artifices, to which good men ſometimes condeſcend, for the ſake of a few guilders, but which leſſen them in the eyes of the ſtudents, are the conſequence of this part of the plan.

When

When Mr. Pilati ſays that the Germans treat all the ſciences only in a compendious way, he ſhews himſelf quite ignorant of the method adopted by the public profeſſors, at leaſt by thoſe of this place. Almoſt every profeſſor compoſes a plan of his lectures, which ſerves his hearers for a ſyllabus of what they are to be taught. You cannot properly call this a compend of ſcience, in the ſenſe you affix to this name, when you give it to Boſſuet's Introduction to Univerſal Hiſtory. It is neither more nor leſs than an account of the method which every man for himſelf purpoſes to uſe in teaching his ſcholars a ſcience. Another object, with thoſe who make the moſt of their induſtry, is to lend or ſell this manuſcript for a few louis d'ors. It is true indeed, that ſome have taken ſo much pains with theſe ſyllabuſes, that they may paſs for compendia; but it does not follow from thence that the literati of Germany, who are not, it muſt be remembered, all proteſtants, treat all the ſciences compendiouſly. Some of theſe ſyllabuſes, which have gone beyond their original deſign, and are become compendia, are maſter-pieces of more value than ſeveral works in folio; and, taken in general, are an evident ſign that the Univerſity of Gottingen poſſeſſes ſeveral moſt valuable men. Upon the whole,

the thorough freedom of opinion which is eſtabliſhed here, the abſence of the notions and abſurd ſyſtems which keep other univerſities in bondage, together with an enlightened and gentle adminiſtration, ſecure advantages to theſe ſchools which are hardly to be found in any other.

Caſſel is not only a very handſome, but in ſome reſpects a magnificent city. It contains about thirty-two thouſand inhabitants, This is one of the cities of Germany which, as well as ſeveral others, the Hugunots have cauſed to flouriſh at our expence. They have eſtabliſhed ſeveral conſiderable manufactures in it, one amongſt others of hats, which are not at all inferior to thoſe made at Lyons, in fineneſs and ſtrength, and are held in equal eſtimation.

The number of the ſubjects of the landgrave, I have been aſſured is three hundred and thirty thouſand. His income amounts to two millions two hundred and twenty thouſand Rheniſh florins (about two hundred and twenty thouſand pounds). Add to this, the country of Hanau, which contains one hundred thouſand men, and brings in ſomething above five hundred thouſand florins, or fifty thouſand pounds; ſtill the poſſeſſions of this houſe are not ſo good as thoſe of a Dutchy of Wirtemberg.

This

This country is the moſt military of all Germany. The peaſants are not only always diſciplined, but always ready to march any where through the wide world. The ſending the Heſſian troops to North America, cannot be conſidered as a hardſhip in itſelf, conſidering the intimate connection of this country with Great Britain; but the connection itſelf is a very unprofitable one for this country. The Engliſh ſubſidies can never make amends for the loſs which the treaty has hitherto brought on both prince and people. The country was ſtripped of all its young men, after the laſt Sileſian war, and ſcarcely had it begun to bloom again when they were ſent to America. At leaſt twenty thouſand Heſſians, of whom one half will never come home, are gone to that part of the world. The country has therefore loſt a ſixth of its moſt uſeful inhabitants, by the tea-burning buſineſs at Boſton. The taxes are very conſiderable, as you will ſee if you compare the population and taxes of this country with thoſe of the duchy of Wirtemberg, whom nature has put in poſſeſſion of far greater advantages than ſhe has done the Heſſians. Though the landgrave has remitted his ſubjects a part of the taxes for as long a time as the war ſhall laſt, they deſert in great

numbers, and go into Hungary, Poland, and Turkey.

The military conſtitution of this country, has, on ſeveral occaſions, been as uſeful to the German empire in general, as it has been prejudicial to the people themſelves. So early as the reformation, the Heſſians contributed exceedingly towards maintaining the freedom of the empire; and the Sileſian war would not have ended nearly ſo well for England, or the king of Pruſſia, if ſixteen or eighteen thouſand brave Heſſians had not ſtood the brunt of our troops.

LETTER LX.

Wurtzburg.

YOU will ſee, if you take up a map of Germany, that I have been true to my promiſe; and that I have gone through the holy Roman empire croſs-ways and length-ways, through wood and through thicket, by dale and by vale—in a word, like a true knight-errant.

The Heſſians, my dear brother, take them in general, are deformed to a degree. The

women

women are the ugliest creatures I have ever seen. Their dress is horrid. Most of them are clad in black, and wear their petticoats so high, that you can see no shape—only the ugly thick leg as high as the knee, is most conspicuous. The men in some degree make up in strength what is wanting in beauty. Upon the whole, though not a large, they are a stout strong-built people. Here and there you see a giant-like figure; but they all have large bodies and feet. Most of them are white; and their hair is crisp. Their way of living is savage. Their best food is potatoes and brandy; which last they give even to their children.

The people are much the same in the Fuldese. The whole tract of country from Cassel to the borders of Franconia, is rough and wild. The people are like the country, which abounds in woods and hills.

The present prince of Fulda is a man of taste; who lives well, and loves expence. He is extremely tolerant, and no friend to the popish hierarchy. He calls the pope his brother. He is, without doubt, the richest abbot in the catholic world. The number of his subjects, whom he governs with great gentleness, and extremely well, amounts to seven hundred thousand; and he has an income of three hun-

dred thouſand Rheniſh guilders*. He has founded ſeveral uſeful eſtabliſhments for educations, and allows his eccleſiaſtics a freedom in ſpeaking and writing, which diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe of the other parts of Germany. During my abode at Vienna, it was there looked upon as a very heroic degree of courage in ſome profane literati, to declare that the council was above the pope. At Fulda I read theſe, and much more bold things, in works which are at leaſt of twelve years ſtanding. The palace of Fulda is a very pretty building; and I met with much better company here than I expected.

Wurtzburg is upon the whole a very fine city. It is ſituated in a large plain very fruitful in vines and watered by the Maine. The prince's palace is one of the fineſt buildings I have hitherto ſeen in Germany. There obtains amongſt the inhabitants, who are ſixteen thouſand in number, an alacrity, a love for the pleaſures of the ſenſes, and a freedom of intercourſe between the two ſexes, which you do not find in any proteſtant city of the ſame ſize, and which beſpeaks the great affluence and eaſe of the country very ſtrongly.

* Thirty thouſand pounds.

I was

I was ſtruck here, as in Fulda, with the tolerant ſpirit and knowledge of the prieſthood, who are far beyond their brethren of Auſtria and Bavaria. As theſe qualities are commonly united to good manners and good converſation, the ton of ſeveral literati, into whoſe ſociety I fell on my firſt arrival here, did not ſurpriſe me. I ſaw, in ſhort, that ſome favourable exceptions to the general character, are to be met with in the catholic parts of Germany, as well as unfavourable ones in the proteſtant parts. It muſt be owned that the former are far leſs common than the other.—Not that you are to think the ſun in his meridian even here. I was ſpeaking yeſterday to a prieſt about the execution of the witches, with which this government has been ſo often and ſo juſtly reproached. At firſt he appeared as if he did not underſtand me. At length he told me, with a confidential air, that the moſt intelligent perſons were not ſatisfied with the grounds of trial, as ſeveral learned divines had determined, that the woman who had been burned for a witch, might have been *obſeſſa* as well as *circumſeſſa*, by the devil. I do not know whether you enter into the ſenſe of this nice diſtinction. It is as much as to ſay, that the devil was not abſolutely in the circumference of her body; but that Satan, in order to

play her into the hands of juſtice, made the miracles ſeem to come from her belly, and blinded the ſpectators at her coſt. I was aſtoniſhed at hearing this expreſſion from a man who poſſeſſes ſo much knowledge in his own ſcience; but he was not one of the great wits of the place: and after all, if this theological diſtinction ſhould in future ſave a witch from the ſtake, on the ground, that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh whether ſhe be *obſeſſa* or *circumſeſſa*, the nonſenſe will have had its uſe.

The preſent governor is a very intelligent man. He underſtands both men and things, and is one of the few German biſhops who have only their own merit to thank for their good fortune and promotion. He is of an old but not very rich family, of the name of Van Erthal, and is brother to the elector of Mentz. His knowledge and activity recommended him to the imperial court, who gave him the conſpicuous place of imperial commiſſary at the diet of Ratiſbon; there he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that the imperial court gave him this biſhoprick *in commendam*.

Wurtzburg alone is one of the richeſt biſhoprics in the country; the dioceſe contains about one hundred and ninety thouſand inhabitants, and the revenue is eight hundred thouſand Rheniſh florins,

florins, or eighty thouſand pounds; but beſides this, the biſhop holds the biſhopric of Bamberg, which is one of the fatteſt benefices of the empire, and brings in about ſeven hundred thouſand guilders, or ſeventy thouſand pounds. Both theſe countries are in ſome of the beſt land in Germany. They abound plentifully in the neceſſaries of life. Wurtzburg gains a great deal by its wines, which are carried as far as Sweden. They praiſed the Stein wine to me very much. I taſted it, but found it very fiery and burning on the tongue. It is very full of tartar, and raiſes thirſt.

Agriculture ſeems to be well underſtood in this country; but in their manufactures they are a great way behind, not only the northern parts of Germany, but their neighbours the Fuldans. Theſe make a great number of very fine damaſks; with which, as well as the plainer linens, they drive a good trade. The Wurtzburghers have no employment equally profitable. Beſides this, as in winter time the Fuldans employ themſelves in ſpinning and weaving; they are infinitely better off in their wild country, than the people of Wurtzburg in their paradiſe. The biſhop, indeed, of the laſt place, has a fine manufacture of looking-glaſſes and china; but they are the only good manufactures of the place.

The

The preſent biſhop gives himſelf a great deal of trouble to inſpire his ſubjects with a taſte for the arts. . . . . .

In order to give this letter its proper length, previous to my ſealing it, I made an excurſion into Franconia, which is the leaſt of all the circles. But the game I have taken in this chaſe is ſo very little, as tobe hardly worth the poſtage you will have to pay for it.

Bamberg is a pretty large, handſome, lively city, containing near twenty thouſand inhabitants. What is moſt remarkable in it is, the gardening, which in no part of Germany is ſo flouriſhing as it is here. Several hundred gardeners carry on a conſiderable trade as far as Holland, with ſmall pickled gerkins, a prodigious number of liquorice roots, onions which are looked upon as the beſt in Germany, and other things. They alſo ſupply the neighbourhood round with pot-herbs, very good apples, and cauliflowers. Their good ſtrong beer is likewiſe carried as far as the Rhine. The common people here believe that there is no liquorice any where elſe in the world, and that this was planted here and given to this city as an excluſive poſſeſſion for ever, by the holy Cunigunda, who lies buried in the cathedral, with her huſband Henry the Second. As I am upon the miracles of this holy

holy pair, I cannot forbear communicating to you another anecdote concerning them, which I have learned here; and I do it the more willingly, becauſe holy legends are the only things worth mentioning from hence. Poſſibly it may be known to you that Henry the Second, the founder of this biſhopric, was, notwithſtanding his ſanctity, extremely jealous of this Cunigunda; ſo that in conformity to the cuſtoms of the times, he determined to have the ordeal proof of her chaſtity. After ſhe had walked over the red hot plow-ſhares unhurt, he of courſe embraced his ſpouſe, and begged her pardon for the ſuſpicions he had entertained. It happened that ſome time before, vying with each other in affection towards this foundation, they had had two new bells put up in the cathedral. After the ordeal proof was over, they uſed to walk together every day in the court about the cathedral at the time of chiming the bells. Henry's conſort was one day ſo mortified at finding that his bell had a better tone than her's, that in order to give her a proof of his hearty confidence and love, the emperor took a golden ring from his finger, and threw it up into the air, when it clung round the bell ſo as to deaden the ſound, which continues dull to this day. This piece of gallantry is almoſt too fine for the

tenth

tenth and eleventh centuries; but the old cathedrals of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, would furniſh each of them a numerous, and not a very uninteresting collection of tales of knight errantry, legends, and ſtories of apparitions. The abundance of ſuch tales, is a ſure proof that the people are idle, and have not a ſufficient number of uſeful employments to take up their thoughts and converſations. Pſalm-ſinging, to which the common people amongſt the reformed have recourſe whenever they are tired, has not, it is true, that colouring of imagination which marks the amuſements of the catholics in Germany; but it is more adapted to the notions of the common people, and gives them no falſe and dangerous opinions. I cannot here paſs over an anecdote of a ſpirit from Wurtzburg. I was aſſured, that even to this day, from eleven to twelve at night, the watch cannot be ſet in a certain ſtreet, on account of a very dangerous man walking through it at this time, who carries his body under his right arm.

Notwithſtanding the excellence of the ſoil, the people of the biſhoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg are upon the whole extremely poor. This does not ariſe ſo much from a neglect of agriculture, as from a want of frugality. It is however impoſſible that agriculture ſhould

ſhould employ all the people of ſo populous a country. It is no doubt owing to both education and cuſtom, that we ſee ſo many beggars in a country where nature has ſhewn herſelf ſo liberal. The government of the ſpiritual princes in Germany, which I have hitherto ſeen, is much more gentle than thoſe of moſt of the temporal princes; and the abuſe caſt upon them, is upon the whole very unjuſt. It requires many ages to make a diſſipated and luxurious people frugal and induſtrious. The relaxed manners of the Roman catholics in Germany are in a great meaſure owing to the falſe notions inculcated into them by their teachers. Schloſſer tells us in his journal, that a Roman catholic prieſt was accuſed of hereſy, by one biſhop, and two univerſities, for teaching 'that ſelf-love was the principle of all human 'actions; that a neglect of the earthly advan-'tages which time and opportunity offer to 'men, was a philoſophical ſin; and that it was 'unlawful to do another a kindneſs, by which 'we might conſiderably ſuffer ourſelves.' Theſe exceſſive notions of liberality and contempt for temporal things, are the true reaſons why the Roman catholic Germans in general are, as Mr. Pilati has obſerved, better hearted than the proteſtant ones. The number of beg-

gars are themſelves a proof of it; for if they did not find ſo many givers, they would ſoon learn to work. It would, however, be much better if there were no beggars, and the people were made a little more frugal. For the ſame reaſon it is that you find many more charitable foundations of all ſorts amongſt the catholics than amongſt the proteſtants, though the former are ſo poor. The Julius Hoſpital, at Wurtzburg, is richer than all the foundations of the ſort in the king of Pruſſia's dominions put together; but all theſe foundations are a new encouragement to luxury.

The mendicant orders of friars find their account in their doctrines of free-gifts, and contempt of the things of this world, (which they themſelves carefully gather;) and they are alſo the principal defenders of them. Excluſive of the maſſes for ſouls, which, taken altogether, do not amount to a great deal, the catholic ſecular prieſts do not get much by the liberality of the people.

The benefices in the cathedrals of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, are looked upon as the beſt in Germany. In good years each is worth three thouſand five hundred guilders*; but you

* About three hundred and fifty pounds.

you ſeldom meet with a prieſt who has no more than one of them. Several of them have four or five prebends in as many cathedrals, and receive from eight to ten or twelve thouſand guilders per year. The prelates of thoſe foundations receive from twenty to thirty thouſand florins a year. The whole trouble of a German canon conſiſts in his being obliged to reſidence in his cathedral for a month in the year. No other qualification is required of him but to be able to read Latin, and prove himſelf deſcended from a good family on the mother's ſide.

In a certain epiſcopal city in Germany, there is this proverb, 'that prebends make 'themſelves.' In general you ſee them hovering round the ladies.

I am aſſured that every canon of Wurtzburg, at his firſt entry into the chapter, receives a ſtroke with a ſwitch from each of his colleagues. This extraordinary inauguration is contrived with a view of preventing any prince, who of courſe cannot ſubmit to ſuch a ceremony, from deſiring to be of the chapter.

Nurenberg is an ugly town, which grows every day more deſerted. At the end of the fifteenth century, this town contained above fifty thouſand male inhabitants, who were not

above

above one fourth of the whole; whereas the whole population now hardly amounts to a ſixth part of the number. In the courſe of the laſt years eleven hundred men have died every year. Many hundred houſes ſtand quite empty, and the others are tenanted only by ſingle families. The inhabitants are ſtill a very induſtrious people, and it is a very pretty ſight to ſee the little children employed in making the various toys, for the manufacture of which this place is ſo diſtinguiſhed in Europe.

I am ſurpriſed to find ſo many German writers laughing at theſe productions of the Nurenberghers, and making a proverb of their induſtry. Is not the great exportation of theſe commodities a ſufficient juſtification of the mode in which theſe people employ their time? But theſe reproaches are the more unjuſt becauſe Nurenberg has long produced artiſts who vie with the beſt Engliſh ones, in making mathematical and phyſical inſtruments. You meet no where, out of England, with ſuch good manufactures in ſteel, iron, and copper, as you do here. Will any man then ſay he has a right to blame theſe people, becauſe, amidſt their more important buſineſs, they find uſeful and profitable employments for their wives and children?

Nurenberg

Nurenberg is far ſuperior to Augſburg in the arts.

The great cauſe of the ruin of this town is the ariſtocracy. I could not have believed, had not reſpectable citizens of Nurenberg told it me, the ill-treatment which they receive from twenty or thirty families, in whoſe hands the government is. From time to time every citizen muſt have an inventory of his effects taken, and I do not know for what reaſon, give a third or fourth part of them to the regency. Excluſive of the evil of theſe numberleſs gifts, it is extremely bad policy in a commercial ſtate, to compel the merchant to inform every one of the profit of his trade. Theſe patricians have likewiſe a number of families in their intereſt, amongſt whom they divide the employments of the ſtate, which are very conſiderable. All this renders it not ſurpriſing to find that the rich citizens leave the city, and endeavour to emancipate themſelves by taking refuge in the Auſtrian or Pruſſian territories.

The morals of the Nurenburgers are better and purer than thoſe of any other German city. The magiſtrate is particularly anxious to put a ſtop to fornication. I do not exaggerate, but relate a real fact when I aſſure you, that the

young men of the city underwent a phyſical viſitation by ſome of the members of the magiſtracy attended by phyſicians. There is a very characteriſtical print of this buſineſs, in which the deputies are repreſented in their buſineſs with their ſpectacles upon their noſes.

Nurenberg has a more conſiderable territory belonging to it than any other imperial city. The number of its ſubjects in the country is eſtimated at four hundred thouſand. Theſe the regency does not govern in ſo arbitrary a manner, as it does the inhabitants of the city; or if it does, this does not prevent the country from being very well cultivated, though there is a great deal of ſand about it. I have not beheld prettier villages any where than there is here. Every thing beſpeaks a great degree of opulence in the farmers, who, as well as the town's-people, remain faithful to their old dreſs.

The margraviates of Anſpach and Bareith, exhibit, in point of induſtry, a ſtrong contraſt to the induſtry of the biſhopricks of Wurtzburg and Bamberg. Nature has not been nearly ſo liberal to them; and yet the inhabitants of thoſe countries, though loaded with much greater taxes, are in much better circumſtances than thoſe of the former. The cities of Erlang, Anſpach, Schwaback,

back, and ſome others, have ſome very good manufactures. The preſent margrave, who is the laſt branch of a houſe, which promiſes no new ones, is a very clever and amiable man. The well-known Mademoiſelle N——— is his companion; a proof, at leaſt, of his good taſte. His income amounts to ſixteen hundred thouſand Rheniſh florins, or one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds. His peaſants are ſomewhat diſcontented with him for having ſold their children to the Engliſh. There were, indeed, great diſcontents amongſt the troops that were to go to America; but the margrave was not affected by them. He ſeems determined to make as much of the country as he can, upon the principle that after his death it is to fall into other hands.

The remainder of Franconia is compoſed of a number of ſmall principalities. The people here in general ſuffer very great oppreſſion. Thoſe are particularly miſerable whoſe maſters reſide in the great courts; for, by this means, they are not only deprived of the ſpending of great ſums amongſt them, but are ſubjected to the tyranny of deſpotic ſervants, who are always worſe than the maſters, and chooſe to have their ſhare of the plunder. The *locum tenens* of a well-known dutchy in Franconia, hardly

keeps his place more than ſeven or eight years, in which ſhort time he commonly ſaves enough to be no longer a ſervant. This will, no doubt, make you think of the ſervants of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, who are called nabobs at their return; which they, literally ſpeaking, are, at the expence of the Indians. It is thanks to ſtanding armies that the people of this country are as quiet as they *are* under *their* nabobs. In the famous rebellion which broke out in 1525, and has been ſo well deſcribed by Gothe, in his Goſs of Berlichingen, they treated the princes, dukes, and other great perſons, in a very ſtrange manner. A number of theſe ruffians having made themſelves maſters of ſome caſtles belonging to the marquiſſes of Hohenloe, put collars round their necks, and cried out under their noſe, 'Now are we maſters of Hohenloe, and ye are 'nothing?' It was very impolitic in the imperial cities of Franconia, Suabia, and the circles of the Rhine, to be acceſſary at that time in ſubduing the peaſants. At preſent the oppreſſion of the princes falls as heavily upon them as it does on their own ſubjects; a thing they might have foreſeen, as theſe princes were already ſo powerful, by means of their ſtanding armies, that the ſalvation of the cities would have been

to

to make a common cauſe with the peaſants againſt them; as without the aſſiſtance then afforded by theſe cities, the inſurgents would not have been ſubdued; for the now ſo weak cities of Halle, Bopfingen, Dunckelſpuhl, Nordlingen, &c. were at that time more formidable to the rebellious peaſants, than the greateſt princes; but they have now no longer any ſuch fortunate opportunity to expect.

LETTER LXI.

Francfort.

I Came hither through the Speſſart, which is the thickeſt foreſt I have met with in the common road. In the ſpace of twenty-ſeven miles, I ſaw only a ſingle village and an hunting box. The reſt was almoſt intirely wood and hill. Notwithſtanding all this, the road is a very wonderful one; and the elector of Mentz, to whom the greateſt part of the country belongs, keeps it very clear from robbers. For twenty years paſt there have hardly been two inſtances of any perſon having been attacked in theſe frightful foreſts; and at preſent they are ſo ſecure, that you may travel

through them in the night without any apprehenſions. At Aſchaffenburg, a pretty German town, there are always thirty huſſars, who travel through the Speſſart at ſtated times, in order to prevent the poſſibility of an accident. If all the princes of Germany were to make uſe of their forces for theſe purpoſes, there would be no cauſe to complain of their military eſtabliſhments, or the tyrannical manner in which their huſbandmen are treated. The beauty and ſalubrity of its ſituation, encouraged me to make an excurſion as far as Aſchaffenburg. At ſome diſtance north and eaſtward, you ſee the Speſſart, which forms a half circle round this city, and protects it from the high winds. The country about this city is uncommonly fruitful. It is famous for producing a great number of apple-trees, with the fruit of which they make a cyder, which only a connoiſſeur can diſtinguiſh from true wine. It is often exported to the north as a Rheniſh. I taſted ſome of it that was ſeven years old; it had a great deal of fire, but coſts twenty-four creutzers the bottle, a price for which you may have very good wine.

The government encourages the people to make as much as poſſible of the advantage of

their ſituation. They have planted mulberry-trees, and have made ſome very good experiments on ſilk-worms. On the banks of the Maine, near the city, there is a fine alley, which runs through a very extended plain. You meet here with a curious memorial of the ſixteenth century. An old German knight, as big as the life, and armed at all points, is kneeling before a crucifix, at the bottom of which he has depoſited his helmet. The whole has the appearance of an immenſe pyramid, of which the croſs forms the head, and the knight and his appurtenances the lower parts. The work is extremely good, and altogether exhibits a very ſtriking appearance to the beholder.

Francfort is a fine large city. There is no town in Germany which has larger or more magnificent inns than thoſe of this place. Excepting Hamburgh, this is the only imperial city which keeps up all its priſtine ſplendour. Whilſt Nurenberg, Augſburg, and ſeveral others about it, are going to decay, it continues to thrive and to improve. The outſides of the houſes are very ſplendid, and the ſtyle of the architecture ſhews that the inhabitants know how to lay out their money with taſte. There are about thirty inhabitants in the place who are worth a million of livres; and you

may name above thirty Calviniſtical houſes, who have thirty thouſand guilders. The number of very rich Catholics and Lutherans, is not leſs: ſo that in all, there may be about two hundred houſes who have incomes of one hundred thouſand guilders*, and above. There is a high appearance of affluence throughout. The furniture of their houſes, their gardens, equipage, dreſs, and female ornaments, every thing, in ſhort, beſpeaks a ſtate above the ordinary citizen, and which approaches the extreme of magnificence.

The trade of Francfort is extremely hurtful to Germany. According to the accounts given me by a very underſtanding merchant of this place, the exports of German commodities by this channel, hardly amount to a tenth of the imports from France, Holland, Italy, and other countries. The former conſiſt of iron, and other rough or worked metals, (which are exported moſtly into France and Holland) of wine, linen, and other inſignificant articles. The latter, on the contrary, are made up of all kinds of ſpices, female ornaments, handkerchiefs, ſilks, and, in ſhort, all the expenſive articles of luxury furniſhed by Italy, France, and Holland. In a word, Francfort is the great canal

* Ten thouſand pounds.

canal by which the gold of the empire runs out. The loſs which this place brings on the countries about the upper parts of the Rhine, Danube, and Maine, may be judged of by the value of the louis-d'ors. As all the payments of this place to France and Holland, muſt be made in this coin, they are commonly worth twelve creutzer more here than in the other parts of Germany, the country about the Lower Rhine only excepted, which drives the ſame kind of unpatriotic trade. The older people of this place, as well as in Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, remember the times, when, after the operations of Lewis XIV. our louis and crown pieces were the coin the moſt commonly to be met with in the country. But now they are very ſeldom found in the ordinary courſe of trade. Very few of them were recoined, as the mint cannot cope with the high agio given by the merchants in the courſe of exchange. They are, however, ſent in heaps to Holland, and twenty creutzer for every louis-d'or is paid above the market price.

There are ſome woollen, carpet, and cotton manufactures here, and in the country round. Theſe belong in part to the merchants of the place, but are moſt of them only rented by them,

them, and a great part of the woollen manufactures of Hanau, are ſold by third hands here. Upon the whole, the entire trade of this place is a mere Jewiſh buſineſs, which employs very few hands profitably, and is in a great meaſure ſupported by the internal conſumption. The greateſt merchants of this place are not aſhamed of being brokers; and a great number of traders, with revenues of from forty to fifty or ſixty thouſand guilders, do only commiſſion buſineſs; whereas, if they had more activity, and the true ſpirit of induſtry, they might make uſe of their money to more advantage in manufactures.

The ſituation of the place ſecures it the perpetual enjoyment of the advantages which have made it ſo rich. It lies in the midſt of the beſt part of Germany, in a country the natural wealth of which is favourable to luxury, and which is broken into ſo many ſmall ſtates, that there is no cauſe to fear the prohibition of foreign wares. It has not, like Dantzick, which carries on the ſame kind of trade, but is now nearly ruined by Pruſſia and Poland, powerful and enlightened neighbours to cope with, who are attentive to loſe no advantages that may be procured to their own ſubjects.

Franc-

Francfort contains thirty-four thouſand inhabitants, including the ſtrangers conſtantly reſident. Thoſe who come for the fair are generally eſtimated at ſome thouſands. Amongſt theſe, there were at laſt ſpring fair fifty princes. As the way to the principal high roads of Germany lies through this place, all the perſons of conſequence, who go to the baths and watering places, commonly take Francfort in their way to them. This occaſions a concourſe of good company; and the apparatus of the fair, together with the liberty of living which prevails at theſe times, form together an intereſting ſpectacle. The German nobility come here from many cauſes, ſuch as payments and ſales of many kinds to make, the neighbourhood of powerful courts, and various other reaſons.

The government, which was formerly very rigid, has now ſomewhat relaxed, and endeavours to make the ſtay of ſtrangers as agreeable to them as can be. During the fair, there are play-houſes, concerts, a Vaux-hall, fine walks, public dancing-booths, and women of the town in abundance. A village in this neighbourhood called Bornheim, is famous all over Germany for its brothels.

Excepting at the time of the fair, ſtrangers, who are generally here in great numbers, are but

but ill-treated. As Francfort is one of the few imperial cities who have freed themſelves from the tyranny of the exciſe ſyſtem, the magiſtrates, who have loſt conſiderably by loſing it, endeavour to make themſelves amends by making ſtrangers feel the weight of their privileges. For inſtance, the innkeepers will not allow a ſtranger to take up his quarters at a private houſe, even though he eats at his inn. The little jealouſy incident to ſmaller ſtates, but which you would not expect to meet with in a city ſo conſpicuous as this is for its *ton*, ſometimes alſo plays ſtrangers ſcurvy tricks. A few years ſince, two miſtreſſes of a German prince, with very large revenues, ſettled here, and ſpent large ſums of money. After a time they were baniſhed the city by the magiſtrates, under pretence that they led diſſipated and idle lives; but the true reaſon was, that the ladies of the place, who could not afford to ſpend as much money as they did, grew jealous of them.

The ever-increaſing luxury of the Germans, particularly of thoſe who inhabit the countries round this place, the habit the German *nobleſſe* are under of coming hither to make a figure, the increaſing care of the magiſtrate to procure ſtrangers

ſtrangers every kind of pleaſure, the admirable roads which lead hither from every part of Germany, and the excellent inns, are the reaſons why this fair is of late years more and more frequented. It is now viſited by French and Engliſh, who meet here with every article of luxury they can deſire.

In general the inhabitants of this place are rather ſtiff in their carriage. There is, however, ſome excellent company to be met with amongſt them. Amongſt the patricians there are ſeveral very reſpectable perſons of good nobility who have no ſhare in the magiſtracy.

Francfort has ever ſupplied, and ſtill continues to ſupply Germany with ſome of its firſt-rate literati; and you meet here with well-informed men in every branch of the arts and ſciences. The only thing which ſtands in the way of liberty of thought, and refinement of manners, and alſo affects trade and induſtry conſiderably, is the inquiſitorial ſtate of the Lutheran clergy, who are here the principal church. The reformed, who, in proportion of their numbers, are without a doubt the richeſt part of the inhabitants, have not yet been able, with all their pains, to obtain the liberty of worſhipping God publicly; though the catholics, whoſe religion differs much more than

theirs,

theirs, from that of the eſtabliſhed church, have more chapels than any other ſect, and the Jews have a public and very conſiderable ſynagogue.

The number of Jews ſettled here is about ſix thouſand. There are ſome who are worth a million, and vie with the Chriſtians in every article of expence. Their induſtry is not to be conceived. They are pimps, language-maſters, fencing-maſters, dancing-maſters, writing and arithmetic maſters, and their daughters are at the ſervice of the uncircumciſed. Thoſe who go into their ſtreets, are in danger of being preſſed to death by them. They fall upon ſtrangers by dozens, and compel them to buy their wares. It is very difficult for a man to diſentangle himſelf from them without the help of a good ſtick; and they call to ſtrangers from the diſtance of three or four hundred paces. The houſes of their well-encompaſſed ſtreets are filled to the very roofs with inhabitants. In ſeven of them, which hardly occupied a ſpace of fifty yards, and were burned down ſome years ſince, there were twelve hundred perſons. On the other hand, there is often only one family in the houſes belonging to the rich. This is the ſign of an incredible affluence, for houſe-rent is dearer in theſe

ſtreets,

ſtreets, than in any part of London, Paris, or any other great city. There is a law which forbids the Jews to live any where out of their ſtreets; but the magiſtrate winks at the breaking of it, and only renews it from time to time to extort money from thoſe who chooſe to live elſewhere.

The celebrated colleges here are a wonderful inſtitution. Theſe conſiſt of aſſociations of people of the ſame rank, who aſſemble on a certain day. There are colleges of nobility, of artiſts of all kinds, of bookſellers, of doctors of law and phyſic; and, in ſhort, of all orders. It is not difficult for a ſtranger to be introduced to theſe, and the advantage he derives by it, of being acquainted in an hour with the moſt reputable people of his own rank, is incredible.

The government of this city is of a mixed kind, and very intricate. The conteſt between the ariſtocracy and democracy is warmer here than in any other city in Germany. Hardly a year paſſes but the burghers begin a new law-ſuit with the council, or the council with the burghers. The conſequence is, that as law-ſuits carried before the imperial court are of very long duration, the law-ſuits of the city of Francfort, againſt itſelf, already amount to

ſome

ſome dozens. I have it from good authority, that the ſtate has laid out thirty thouſand rix-dollars, in the laſt twenty years, annually, in expences for law-ſuits carried on betwixt its own citizens. And as the ſpirit of pettyfogging and litigiouſneſs is no where higher than it is here, Francfort is likewiſe engaged in perpetual diſputes with the princes, dukes, and marquiſſes, round it, much to the advantage of the lawyers of Vienna and Weſslar. The coſts of theſe, during the above-mentioned period, have amounted to twenty thouſand rix dollars annually; ſo that when we come to caſt up ſtate expences, we may lay this ſingle article at fifty thouſand rix dollars. The annual revenue of the ſtate is about ſix hundred thouſand guilders, or thirty thouſand pounds, which are moſtly raiſed from the exciſe and cuſtoms. The contributions of the burghers, which are a kind of tax, are very numerous. They are laid on according to the true principles of a commercial commonwealth. They are divided into two portions, viz. the large tax of fifty guilders, and the ſmaller, of twenty-five guilders per annum. Every burgher has the liberty of paying to the large or ſmall fund, and conſequently taxes himſelf. If I miſtake not, an income of thirty thouſand guilders ſubjects a

man to pay the higher tax; but the magiſtracy of this place, has not, like thoſe of Nurenberg, the right, ſo contrary to the true ſpirit of trade, of taking an inventory of the circumſtances of a merchant. This leaves the merchants at liberty to value their eſtates over or under the line of limitation; and it is evidently the intereſt of every merchant to paſs for a man of an eſtate of more than thirty thouſand guilders, and contribute to the large tax.—The claſs of inhabitants to which all the reformed, and likewiſe a large part of the catholics belong, have greater taxes to pay. The latter may, by favour of the magiſtracy, arrive at the rights of burgeſſes, but not take part in the government. The former are intirely excluded from the power of becoming burgeſſes.

LETTER LXII.

Mentz.

THE country between this place and Francfort, particularly that in the neighbourhood of Mentz, is one of the richeſt I have hitherto ſeen, and the road is the beſt and handſomeſt I have met with in Germany. Till

within three miles of Francfort, it is in a ſtraight line, raiſed, paved, and guarded on both ſides with high ſtones, which ſecure the foot paſſengers from waggons and horſes. The only defect in this road is, that it is too narrow in the middle for two waggons to paſs. All the roads through the domain of the city of Francfort are built in the ſame magnificent ſtyle, ſo that it is eſtimated that every three miles has coſt the city above ſixty thouſand guilders, or ſix thouſand pounds. The *chauſſée* in the one and twenty miles belonging to Mentz, is not raiſed in ſo expenſive a ſtyle as that of Francfort, but it is broader; it is planted with trees on both ſides all the way, and very well kept. Here and there you meet with noble alleys of walnut and other fruit-trees, the villages at the end of which exhibit beautiful perſpectives. There is hardly a road in Germany more frequented than this; the place of poſt-maſter of Haterſhein, a place midway between the two cities, is the beſt of any of the territories of the imperial free cities. In the territory of Mentz, each horſe pays two-pence *chauſſée* money, at every poſt, and each of the three poſts brings in ſix thouſand guilders. At leaſt ſeventy-two thouſand horſes paſs this road every year, beſides a great number of horſes belonging to

private

priyate perſons, not taken into the account. There likewiſe go every day between the two cities two large veſſels, which are conſtantly filled with men and merchandize. I met with waggons on this road, which, at a diſtance, looked like large houſes. They were drawn by ſixteen or eighteen horſes, and, as the waggoners aſſured me, carried loads of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty hundred weight. They generally go from Francfort to Straſburg.

We came through the pretty little city of Hochſt, which is ſituated very pleaſantly and wholeſomely, on an elevation ſix miles from Francfort. I ſhould not have made mention of this place, but to ſet right a miſtake into which Mr. Moore has fallen; in doing which I ſhall have occaſion to lay before you a very remarkable inſtance of the political miſmanagement of two different governments.

Near this little town you ſee a magnificent country-houſe, the architecture of which is not very good. The builder is an Italian of the name of Bolongaro, who, without a penny of original fortune, has found means to acquire, intirely by his own induſtry, a capital of from a million to a million and a half of guilders. He made his fortune intirely by the ſnuff

which bears his name, which is ſtill extremely liked throughout all Germany. This man was ranked in the claſs of inhabitants; I do not know exactly whether he was deſirous to leave the city, or whether the government of Francfort had occaſion to tax him afreſh as an out-burgher; be that as it may, he was called upon to lay an account of his circumſtances before the regency. He offered an immenſe ſum of money if they would take his word for the ſum total, without deſcending into particulars; but nothing would ſatisfy them but an inventory, which they inſiſted on with all the obſtinacy and harſhneſs of a ſmall ſtate. It ſo happens that there is a compact ſubſiſting between the ſtates of Mentz and Francfort, by which the burgeſſes of the one are allowed to migrate to the other, without let or moleſtation. Bolongaro determined to ſeize the opportunity to revenge himſelf of a government who had treated him ſo ill. He accordingly built at Hochſt, and became a ſubject of Mentz, which ſaved him from the neceſſity of laying an inventory of his eſtate before the magiſtracy of Francfort, and enabled him to go there as often as he pleaſed, without leaving a creutzer * behind him. Mr. Moore ſays that the immenſe palace —

* A farthing.

lace which he has built at Hochſt, ſtands quite empty; but we ſhall eaſily conceive how much buſineſs is carried on there, if we conſider that Mr. Bolongaro now pays at leaſt eight thouſand guilders leſs to the cuſtoms at Francfort, than he did before, when his whole buſineſs was done in that city. He has alſo contrived that great part of the conſignments ſent from Bremen, Hamburgh, and the ſeveral parts of Heſſia and Hanover into Suabia, Alſatia, and Switzerland, ſhould go through Hochſt inſtead of going through Francfort as they did before. The legiſlature of Mentz has much facilitated this by building him a crane on the Maine, before his palace.

Mr. Bolongaro has carried his revenge ſtill farther. He took Mr. Beggiora, one of the acuteſt and moſt intelligent of his countrymen, out of one of the beſt houſes of Francfort, and entered into partnerſhip with him for eſtabliſhing a commerce in drugs, the moſt capital branch of trade in Francfort, at Hochſt. The bare firm of Mr. Bolongaro was of unſpeakable ſervice to this trade, and ſoon repaid him, with intereſt, the ſums he had advanced; but beſides this, the partner enjoyed the exemption of cuſtoms which Bolongaro had obtained from the regency of Mentz, for twenty years. The con-

ſequence was, that this new branch of trade was opened to ſo much advantage, as ſoon to put one hundred and ſixty thouſand guilders, or ſixteen thouſand pounds, into Mr. Bolongaro's pocket. All this ſhews that the regency of Francfort committed a great offence againſt the proſperity of the country, by the perſecution of Mr. Bolongaro; and that Mr. Moore, who doubtleſs ſaw Bolongaro's building in company with the Francfortians, and through their eyes, would not have found it ſo empty if he had ſeen it with his own.

The Regency of Mentz were not, however, guilty of a leſs fault in their adoption of Mr. Bolongaro, than that of Francfort in their perſecution of him. The poſſeſſors of millions are not always beneficial inhabitants to a ſmall ſtate; on the contrary, a couple of dozen of weavers looms, which ſupport an induſtrious man in a creditable manner, are at all times of more value than ever ſo many palaces of this Bolongaro kind. The court of Mentz has paid very dearly for the honour of having this rich man for its ſubject, by entering into contracts very advantageous to him, but much otherwiſe to the ſtate. Mr. Bolongaro engaged to ſpend a certain ſum, I believe twenty thouſand guilders * every year, during twenty years,

* Two thouſand pounds.

years, in building at Hochſt. For this the government of Mentz granted him an exemption of all cuſtoms for twenty years, an illimited freedom of trade, as much ſtone as he choſe to take from the ruins of an old caſtle, and four horſes free from taxes for his own uſe. The exemption of cuſtoms alone, and the liberty to leave Francfort, are more than an equivalent for the promiſed buildings of twenty years; but even theſe laſt he has contrived to turn intirely to his own advantage. He had made the regency of Mentz believe, in his boaſting and magnificent manner, that in the courſe of the twenty years he would build them a ſuperb new town, which he propoſed to call Emmerickſtadt, in honour of the dead elector; but all he did was to build ſome houſes adjoining to his palace, which no doubt Mr. Moore took for the wings of it. It is certain that Mr. Bolongaro ſcarce expended half the yearly ſum he had covenanted to do; and that for many years the whole town of Emmerickſtadt, from whence he dated his letters to all the world, was occupied by his own compting-houſe only.

Still, however, might the regency of Mentz have been excuſable for laying out ſo much in the acquiſition of this rich citizen, had ſome

part of his money at leaſt been devoted to the employment of uſeful hands, or ſome part of his ſubſtance ſpent for the benefit of the ſtate; but excepting a few plaiſterers and carpenters, no ſubject of Mentz has ſeen a penny of Mr. Bolongaro's money. Almoſt all his tobacco is prepared out of the country, and even the greateſt part of it exported from Francfort, where his principal warehouſes and magazines ſtill are. He only removed that part of his trade to Hochſt, which he could not carry on ſo well at Francfort, and availed himſelf of the privileges of a citizen of Mentz, to hurt the former city, without being of the leaſt uſe to the latter: nay, it is ſtill free for him or his heirs to leave Hochſt whenever they pleaſe, and make it up with Francfort. In the mean time he has built himſelf a palace for the ſummer in the cheapeſt manner, and ſurrounded it with common houſes, the rents of which will richly pay him for the ſums he has laid out upon them.

This however was only a political error in the regency of Mentz; but the univerſal liberty of trade granted to Mr. Bolongaro, is an unpardonable offence, both againſt morals and politics. This man, who originally was lower than the dirt in the ſtreets, became a miracle of popular inſolence. There are examples of his niggardlineſs,

niggardlineſs, which almoſt ſurpaſs all conception, and they are the more ſtrong from being a ſingular contraſt, to the brutal and offenſive magnificence that is peculiar to him. The pride of doing miſchief, has led him to make his fellow-citizens feel the weight of his money in every tranſaction by which a penny is to be got. There were eight or nine retail merchants in the little town of Hochſt, who contrived to live honourably, and carry on a ſmall trade. Mr. Bolongaro could not reſt contented with the great advantage his own commerce enjoyed from the excluſive privilege given him, but he muſt make uſe of it, if not to the total ruin, to the manifeſt oppreſſion of theſe poor people. He therefore opened a druggiſt's ſhop for the ſale of his goods in the retail way. The regency of Mentz, though acting upon much better principles than any other of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates of Germany, had ſtill not ſenſe enough to ſee that eight middling and decent trades-people are a greater acquiſition to a country than one very rich one, even when the capital of the latter is a thouſand times greater than that of the former.

Mr. Bolongaro's abject ſpirit carried him ſtill farther. He wanted a monopoly of all the moſt important articles of commerce, and to obtain

it, offered the regency a large ſum; but this the preſent prince would not accept.

To fill up the meaſure of his crimes, Bolongaro brought a complaint againſt the fiſhermen of the place, for having hurt ſome tree or ſtatue in his garden, and inſiſted on their being deprived of the privilege of fiſhing in the river Nid, which runs under the wall of his garden into the Maine. This too the regency was weak and wicked enough to grant: thus robbing of their bread a number of poor families, in order to ſerve a wretch, whoſe character I cannot better ſum up, than by telling you he gave an old friend, who had met with misfortunes, and was come a great way in hopes of receiving aſſiſtance from this proſperous countryman of his, a ſingle *four ſous piece* *, and that the worſt he could pick out of his purſe.

I ſhould not have detained you thus long with this trifling incident, but to ſhew how fondly the ſmall ſtates of Germany purchaſe the power of doing each other harm; for there is no doubt but the deſire of hurting Francfort was the true cauſe that led the regency of Mentz to give this ridiculous protection.

I viſited the china manufacture at Hocliſt; it is not hitherto in very brilliant circumſtances;

it

* Two-pence.

it is divided into ſhares, the poſſeſſors of which are not men calculated to do what is beſt for the whole: they are, however, hard at work upon plans to improve it. Amongſt other people engaged in them, I viſited Mr. Melchior, who is certainly one of the greateſt ſtatuaries now exiſting, and has an unſpeakable love for his art. There are but few great works of his, though what he has done in this way is inimitable; but he is without a rival in ſmall models, and it is to his labours that this porcelane manufactory owes its celebrity.

The villages and farms which we met with on the way to Francfort hither, would paſs for towns in Bavaria, or the north of Germany. They all beſpeak a high ſtate of opulence in the inhabitants. The beggars one occaſionally ſees, are a conſequence of the way of thinking of the German catholics, and the opinions of their governors, which I mentioned in ſpeaking of Wurtzburg. A peaſant is in general extremely happy throughout the whole country. He is almoſt every where a freeman, and oppreſſed with no hard taxes. A little more care to provide employments for the hands that could be ſpared from agriculture, with a little more attention to education, in order to inſpire the people with a greater diſguſt to begging, would make

make this government almoſt perfect. In the neighbouring country of Darmſtadt, which I likewiſe viſited from Francfort, the peaſant is by no means ſo rich as the inhabitant of the territory of Mentz, for nature has not been ſo liberal to him, and he is loaded with more taxes; but he is cleaner and more active; nor will you ſee ſo many beggars in the ſtreets of Darmſtadt.

Till within ſix miles of Mentz, the inhabitants live chiefly on their agriculture. The earth yields uncommon returns, and the corn of this country is imported far and wide on the Rhine. There are alſo large quantities of fruits and greens of all kinds; excellent aſparagus and cabbage are the food of the moſt common people: nor is there a place in Germany where the people are ſo fond of them, or have a greater ſupply of proviſions of this kind. Great ſhip-loads of their cabbages, as well raw as pickled, are carried down the Lower Rhine, as far as Holland. The little city of Croneburg, ſituated on an eminence ſix miles off the main road, drives a trade with Holland to the amount of eight thouſand guilders a-year for apples, cyder, and cheſnuts, of which laſt it has large groves. All the villages of the country lie in orchards of trees, and command large fields

fields of corn below. Theſe numerous orchards make the country look a little poor, though it is as well cultivated as any other part of Germany. In the ſtrip of land which lies betwixt Francfort, Mentz, and the neareſt hills to the north of Mentz, containing a ſpace of about twelve miles long, and ſix broad, they reckon eight little cities, five large market-towns, and about eighty villages, few of which contain leſs than ſixty families.

At Wickeard, a place which is ſix miles from Mentz, the nature of the country intirely changes; an arm of the large mountain called Wetteraw, extends itſelf here to the banks of the Maine, and forms a couple of large hills, on the one of which, Wickeard, and on the other, Hocheim is ſituated. The ſouthern and weſtern ſides of the former produce an excellent wine. The eaſtern ſide of the ſecond yields admirable corn; and the parts of it expoſed to the ſouth and weſt, afford the moſt delicious wine, without compariſon, of all Germany. The little village of Hocheim, from whence the Engliſh give all kinds of Rheniſh wine the name of Hock, contains about three hundred families. A prettier village I have not ſeen. It belongs to the chapter of Mentz, the dean of which enjoys the revenue of it; in a good year he makes from

from twelve to fifteen thouſand guilders of his wine. He and the Auguſtines of Mentz and Francfort, have the excluſive enjoyment of the beſt Hocheimer wine, of which, in good years, a piece, conſiſting of one hundred meaſures, ſells for from nine hundred to one thouſand guilders from the preſs. This is certainly one of the deareſt wines in the world. Having a deſire to taſte it on the ſpot, we were obliged to pay a rix dollar; it was, however, of the beſt vintage in this century, to wit, that of 1766. Nor ſhould we have had it, but for an advocate of Mentz, to whom the hoſteſs meant to ſhew favour. This was the firſt German wine I had met with which was intirely without any ſour taſte: it was quite a perfume to the tongue; whereas the other wine of Hocheim, let it be as good as it may, is not quite clear of vinegar; though for this alſo, if it has any age, you are forced to pay a guilder and a half. The whole way from Hocheim to Mentz, was the moſt beautiful of the whole journey during three miles. It lay along the ſlope of the hill, covered with fine vineyards, which are ſhaded from the road by beautiful fruit-trees. This deſcent commands a beautiful proſpect, over a ſmall, but uncommonly rich country, terminated by the conflux of the Rhine and Maine. The fine wine

wine does not grow on this ſide of the hill, but on the other. From hence you deſcend into a vale, watered by a little rivulet, where corn-fields, meadows, and orchards, form the pret-tieſt proſpect imaginable. At the left, through an orchard of fruit-trees, you ſee the beautiful village of Koſtheim. The way then winds through the orchards and vineyards of the large village of Caſſel, which appears directly oppo-ſite to Mentz, at the end of a fine alley leading to the banks of the Rhine.

As ſoon as you arrive at the bridge of boats acroſs the Rhine, you are ſtruck with one of the moſt magnificent ſpectacles that it is poſſible for human imagination to conceive. The proud ſtream which has now ſwallowed up the Maine, and is fourteen hundred feet broad, comes out of a plain which extends as far as the horizon; but at Mentz large hills come athwart its courſe, and compel it, after forming ſome iſlands, to change the northern direction, which it has kept from Switzerland hither, for a weſt-ern one. It is theſe hills, on the ſlopes of which you behold ſeveral habitations, which form that celebrated amphitheatre called the Rhinegau, the throne of the German Bacchus. The Rhine ſtill keeps the beautiful green ſo much admired in Switzerland; and even at ſome diſ-

tance

tance below this city, the difference of its waters and thoſe of the muddy Maine, is eaſily to be diſcerned. Directly before your eyes you have the city of Mentz, which preſents itſelf with a majeſty not to be deſcribed. The numberleſs boats which deck its banks, as well as the numerous and magnificent towers of its churches, are reflected by the clear ſtream. The length of the city towards the Rhine, including the fortifications, is at leaſt a mile and a half. Amidſt the large and ſomething dark maſs of old buildings, you ſee now and then a few new ones ſtrike out, which form a pleaſing contraſt. Both the houſes towards the Rhine, and thoſe at the two ends of the city, are here and there ornamented with a rich green. In a word, the ſituation of Dreſden, magnificent as it is, is hardly to be compared with that of Mentz.

When you come into the city the beauty of the proſpect is much changed. The ſtreets are dark, narrow, and not very clean.—But before I ſay any thing more of Mentz, I muſt give you an account of ſome excurſions I made from Francfort into the neighbouring cities.

I took a ride to Darmſtadt, which is a ſmall but lovely place. At Francfort they had deſcribed the people to me as ſtiff, but I found the

the circle in which I lived, and which conſiſted of ſome counſellors and officers, uncommonly affable, genteel, and eaſy. Indeed were it in my power, I wiſh for no better company to make me reliſh life than that I met with at Darmſtadt; nor do I know a place where I ſhould pitch my tent ſo willingly, if it depended upon myſelf to fix the place of my abode. You are in the midſt of ſeveral large cities, not far diſtant from each other. The company is ſuch as you can only meet with in large cities. The air is good; the proviſions cheap; and you have it always in your power to unite the city and country life. Add to this, that the popularity of the court, the delicate Engliſh garden open to every body, the magnificent parade, the number of agreeable women, and the hunting parties, which are to be made at no great expence, render it a moſt deſirable habitation.

The talents of the reigning prince are altogether of the military kind. He reſides little at Darmſtadt; but the hereditary prince, who is conſtantly there, is one of the moſt agreeable and beſt men in the world. He knows nothing of the hauteur which encompaſſes ſo many other German princes, and baniſhes ſtrangers from them. The income of this court is eſtimated to amount to one million one hundred and fifty

thouſand Rheniſh guilders, or about one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds; a great part, however, of this, is appropriated to the payment of the principal or intereſt of old debts.—This is the ſituation of all the German courts.

This part of the territory of Darmſtadt, which lies betwixt the Rhine, the Maine, the Bergſtraſſe, and the Odenwald, is the moſt conſiderable of them in extent, but by no means the beſt; it is made up chiefly of ſandy plains and thick foreſts, the beſt part of which is the Black Wood. Some diſtricts on the Bergſtraſſe and the Odenwald are uncommonly fruitful; but in general the poſſeſſions of this houſe, which lay in the Wetterau, are much richer than this part of the marquiſate of Caſſeneln-Bogen. Notwithſtanding this, there is a great degree of opulence amongſt the peaſants; their induſtry, and the activity and wiſdom of the government, making up for what nature has refuſed them. The villages in this country have an uncommonly neat and gay aſpect. The corn afforded by theſe ſandy plains, the quantity of wood, and the large quantity of [illegible] ſtuff, together with the other produce of their agriculture, bring conſiderable ſums to the country. The little hamlet of Gerau ſells from four to five thouſand guilders-worth of cabbage, which is looked upon as the beſt in this

this country, every year. The aſparagus of Darmſtadt are famous all over Germany for their beauty and ſize: at ſeveral places they likewiſe make a wine, which is very tolerable.

The peaſants of this country are a very ſtrong and handſome race of men, well boned and well ſinewed. Better or more active troops than the three Darmſtadt regiments of infantry, are not to be ſeen in Germany; the Pruſſian troops themſelves not excepted. They conſiſt of about 6000 men. The regiment of them quartered at Pirmaſentz is viſited and admired by our officers from Stratzburg, Landau, Fort Lewis, and other places. It is indeed a pattern of diſcipline, economy, and good behaviour. The wonderful military talents of the Prince of Darmſtadt give the greateſt expectations of the regiment called formerly the Royal Baviere, which he commanded in our army. This prince is commonly much blamed for his military turn; but his troops are really no detriment to the country; it is incredible how little they coſt; and as they have frequent furloughs granted, agriculture ſuffers nothing from them: they are, in fact, only a well-diſciplined and well-regulated militia. Nor is the military education without its advantages in other reſpects; one immediately ſees, upon looking at theſe peaſants, that they have

ſeen ſervice; for the natural conſequences of it, a peculiar degree of order, cleanlineſs, and activity, diſtinguiſh them from their neighbours. Nor are theſe troops commodities for the market, like thoſe of many other German princes. The Engliſh dealer, General Fawcet, offered a much higher price for them than what he gave the Landgrave of Heſſe; but he met with a flat denial, though his money would have been of great ſervice for the payment of old debts.

In my way from Aſchaffenburg to Francfort, I came through Hanau. The country belonging to the prince of that name produces a great deal of corn, wood, wine, and ſalt, which may bring in about fifty thouſand Rheniſh guilders, or about five thouſand pounds yearly. Hanau is a very pretty and well-peopled city, in which there are ſeveral manufactures, particularly of woollen ſtuffs. The reigning prince is the moſt amiable man I have yet met with amongſt the German potentates. Every ſtranger who has either rank, merit, or knowledge, to diſtinguiſh him, is ſecure of a good reception at his court. I am acquainted with no perſon of that high rank, who lets a ſtranger feel his elevation ſo little as this ſovereign does. He can ſo thoroughly diveſt himſelf of his ſtation, that I know few perſons who equal him either in

in the choice or enjoyment of the pleaſures of ſociety. His brother is as amiable as himſelf: they are both zealous free-maſons. He is blamed, as well as the Prince of Darmſtadt, on account of the number of his troops; but as he is heir of Caſſel, the government of which is intirely military, this reproach is of little conſequence.

Francfort commands a moſt beautiful country on all ſides. The villages and hamlets of this country would paſs for towns in other places. In all Bavaria there is not a city, excepting Munich only, which can vie with the hamlet of Hofenbach, three miles diſtant from Francfort, either in beauty, population, or riches.

I made an excurſion, with a gentleman of Francfort, to *Homberg von der Hohe*, the reſidence of a prince of the houſe of Heſſe, who takes his name from this little town. The territory of this prince conſiſts only of a few ſmall villages, in one of which there is a very rich colony of Hugonots. The proper name of this is Frederickſdorf, but in the whole country they call it Walſchdorf. This ariſes from our being called Welches in this country; a name which in Bavaria and Auſtria is commonly given to the Italians. There are good manufactures here, particularly of various woollen ſtuffs. The court is like

the city, exceedingly ſmall; but ſtrangers are made very welcome. The princeſs, who is a ſiſter to the late Grand Dutcheſs of Ruſſia, the Dutcheſs of Weimar, and the Margravine of Baden, is one of the moſt reſpectable women I have ever ſeen. The education of theſe four princeſſes does the utmoſt honour to all Germany, as well as to their reſpectable mother, whoſe magnificent grave, in the park of Darmſtadt, is a laſting memorial of her uncorrupt taſte and noble way of thinking. The Prince of Homberg is alſo a well-educated man; ſo that this court, ſmall as it is, was one of thoſe I admired moſt in all Germany. The whole of its income does not amount to more than one hundred thouſand rix dollars, or ten thouſand pounds.

The country betwixt Francfort, Homberg, Cronberg, and Rodelheim, is thick ſet with villages and hamlets, which form the prettieſt inland picture imaginable. You ſeldom meet with a pleaſanter landſcape than from the view at Oberurſel, a large hamlet in the territory of Mentz, which lies between Cronberg and Homberg. The noiſe of ſome iron and copper hammers has an exceeding good effect.

We met with an adventure in this country, which I ſhall all my life long recollect with the greateſt pleaſure. Behind Cronberg the mountain called

Altkoniger,

Altkoniger, or the old king, raiſes its bare head high above the ridge of hills, which protect the fine plain along the ſide of the Maine, between Francfort and Mentz, from the rude North wind. They tell many ſtrange ſtories of this hill, and of an old ruinous caſtle which ſtands on it. We aſcended him with ſome difficulty, but at the top met with a ſpectacle which will never go out of my remembrance. Directly to the ſouth you overlook a plain thirty-three miles broad, which is terminated by the ſummits of the *Odenwalde* and the *Speſſart*. Here you may diſcern all the villages, hamlets, and towns, which lie between Francfort and the Maine; together with a great part of the country of Darmſtadt. The eaſtern view is cloſed by the Speſſart, which is fifty-one miles diſtant. The whole country of Aſchaffenburg, along the Maine, along the Necker, and as far as the Donnerſberg in the Upper Palatinate, lay like a map under our feet. Theſe extenſive proſpects are common enough in many countries, but you ſeldom find them ſo thickly ſprinkled with the ſmiling habitations of men. Behind you to the northward, and on both ſides to the weſt and north-eaſt, you overlook partly barren or well-wooded mountains, and partly the moſt agreeable mixture of ſoft hills and plains that

can be conceived. Directly againſt the weſt, the row of mountains forms the fineſt amphitheatre that can be conceived. The fineſt ſight, however, was that which we ſaw the next morning. There is a ſpot on this mountain very favourable for ſeeing the riſing-ſun. In order to enjoy this ſpectacle, we had provided ourſelves with pelliſſes, to guard againſt the cold, but were obliged to make a fire of wood in the night, though after one of the warmeſt days in Auguſt. The riſe of the morning, however, fully overpaid us for the toils of the night. Never did I feel my own exiſtence, or that of the being which animates all nature more fully, than at the inſtant in which the firſt ray of the morn gilded the tops of the *Speſſart* and *Odenwalde*, both which at a diſtance appeared to be iſlands of fire. As far as this hill all was thick darkneſs; but this eaſtern view appeared like an illuminated iſland ſwimming on the black ocean of night. The morning ſpreading wider and wider ſhewed us the moſt beautiful landſcape in miniature that we had ever ſeen. We beheld villages afar off in the ſhade, which one ray of the morning ſun broke through and diſpelled the darkneſs of. By degrees we ſaw the ſeparation of the hills, with their ſeveral breaks and windings. Every thing looked as it does when you ſee a fine and well

well-illumined landſcape through a perſpective-glaſs. A preſſure never before experienced took poſſeſſion of my breaſt on beholding this ſcene. But the firſt break of the ſun himſelf ſurpaſſed all the beauties of the day-break. The grandeur, variety, and magnificence of this appearance, is above all deſcription. The plain, ſeventy-five miles long, and forty-two miles broad, which lies betwixt the *Speſſart*, the *Donnerſberg*, the weſtern part of the *Odenwalde*, and our hills, was overſpread with large ſtreaks of light, which contraſted in the ſtrongeſt manner with the thickneſs of the ſhades. We beheld the top of the *Donnerſberg* gilded over, whilſt deep darkneſs brooded at his feet and all over the Rhine beneath. We ourſelves were in light, but the plains and villages beneath us were in a kind of half darkneſs, only broken by the reflection of the light from our hills. The elevated parts of the immenſe plains, which lay before us, broke through the darkneſs with a cheerfulneſs, which brought them half as near again to us, and produced the moſt agreeable reception. Now a ſpire emerged from the gloom, then the ſummit of a hill covered with wood, then a whole village with its trees ſeemed to ſwim on the earth; here lay a corn-field in light, by which it ſeemed, if I may uſe

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the expreſſion, as it were, parted and raiſed up from the country round. The Maine, which hitherto had appeared like a dark ſtripe of the proſpect, began likewiſe to be illuminated with ſilver; and the Rhine was ſoon brought nearer to our eyes in the ſame manner. But I feel that I am attempting to deſcribe a ſcene above all deſcription; and, for the deſcribing of which I have no talents. In brief, I have often ſeen the ſun riſe, but never ſo magnificently as upon the *Alt-Konig*. It is indeed moſt likely that a man may go through many countries, without meeting with ſo favourable a ſpot as this is for ſuch an object.

LETTER LXIII.

Mentz.

TRAVELLERS, who do not care for the trouble of moving far from their head quarters, carry away no very favourable impreſſion of this town with them. The beſt part of it is that in which there are hardly any inns, or any thoroughfares. The inn of the Three Crowns, which is far the beſt in the place, and indeed an excellent one, is in the very worſt ſituation

ſituation imaginable. From hence you may wander over the greateſt part of the town, without meeting with any thing but a heap of black houſes, many of which threaten to fall into the narrow ſtreets. It was owing to theſe cauſes that I had heard ſuch very different accounts of this town before I came into it; ſome deſcribing it as a ſink, and others as one of the beſt towns in Germany. A few days ago I met with a countryman of ours, an *aventurier*, who, finding his account in being here, like ſeveral other gentlemen of his claſs, would have ſtood me out that it was the only handſome town in Germany. As the good gentleman had ſeen nothing but Cologne, Treves, and a part of Weſtphalia, the only anſwer that I could make him was, that Germany was very large.

The northern part of the city, in which the archbiſhop reſides, is full of very regular buildings. Here are three regular ſtreets, called the *Blerchen*, which run parallel to each other from the banks of the Rhine to 600 yards within the city, and are cut almoſt regularly by very pretty croſs ſtreets. The archbiſhop's palace has a moſt commanding view of theſe ſtreets, the Rhine, and the Rhinegau. There are alſo ſome good buildings in the old part of the city. The market of beaſts is extremely well worth

ſeeing; and you here and there meet with other agreeable ſpots. The market in the middle of the town, though not regular, is one of the prettieſt places I have met with in Germany.

The cathedral is well worthy notice. It is an immenſe large old Gothic building, the ſpire of which was ſtruck with lightning ſeventeen years ago, and intirely laid in aſhes. As it was made of a foreſt of wood, it burned fourteen hours before it was intirely conſumed. To prevent theſe accidents for the future, the chapter had the preſent one built to the ſame height in ſtone, an undertaking which coſt them forty thouſand guilders, or four thouſand pounds. It is a great pity that it is overloaded with ſmall ornaments, and a ſtill greater, that this wonderful edifice is ſo choaked up with ſhops and houſes, as to be hardly more than half viſible. As, however, houſes and ſhops are very dear in this part of the town, one cannot be very angry with the chapter for chuſing rather to make the moſt of its ground, than to ſhew off the church to the beſt advantage. The rent of a ſhop and a ſingle room to live in is one hundred and fifty guilders, or fifteen pounds per annum in this part of the town.

You will hardly find another church in Germany of the height and length of this cathedral. The inſide of it is decorated with ſeveral magnifi-

cent monuments of princes and other great perſonages. Amongſt the reſt, I admired the monument of a prelate belonging to this cathedral, whoſe name was Dahlberg. It was made by the ſtatuary Melchior, whom I mentioned to you in my laſt letter. The prelate, as large as the life, is lying on a coffin, upon which there is a pyramid, which a Trinity is carrying into the clouds. The work is very fine, but it would have been much finer if the ſculptor had been ſuffered to follow his own ideas. There is likewiſe a fine piece of ſtatuary in the upper choir; it repreſents a count of Lamberg, who commanded the imperial troops, which drove our forces out of the territory of Mentz at the beginning of this century, and was killed by the ſide of an elector palatine, during the action, by a muſket ball—he is lifting up the top of his coffin with his right hand, and holds the commander's ſtaff with his left: this has an exceeding good effect. This church contains ſeveral other monuments well worth ſeeing. The Treaſury is very ſuperior to that of Dreſden, which has been ſo much ſpoken of.

Beſides the cathedral, the city of Mentz contains ſeveral other churches in the modern ſtyle, very well worth ſeeing. St. Peter's, and the Jeſuit's church, though both too much loaded with ornament, are among this number. The

church

church of the Auguſtines, of which the inhabitants of Mentz are ſo proud, is a maſter-piece of bad taſte; but that of Ignatius, though little is ſaid about it, would be a model of the antique, if here likewiſe there had not been too much ornament laviſhed. Upon the whole, the palaces of the nobleſſe want that noble ſimplicity, which alone conſtitutes true beauty and magnificence.

In another century the externals of the city will be quite changed. The late prince built a great deal, and the preſent has a taſte for the ſame ſort of expence. The monks and governors of hoſpitals alſo have been forced to rebuild their houſes; ſo that when a few more ſtreets are made broader and ſtraighter, the whole will have no bad appearance. The inhabitants, who, together with the garriſon, amount to thirty thouſand, are a good kind of people, who, like all the catholics of Germany, make great account of a good table. Their faces are intereſting, and they are not deficient either in wit or activity. In a few generations more their minds will be as cultivated as thoſe of their proteſtant brethren, as the government has diſtinguiſhed itſelf, for the ſixteen or eighteen years paſt, by excellent eſtabliſhments for education. As things now are, there is no catholic ſtate in Germany,

Germany which contains ſo many deep thinking, and truly learned men as this does. Under the laſt government the liberty both of thinking and writing was carried almoſt as far as it could go: and though various conſiderations, ſuch as connections with the late empreſs, apprehenſions of the prieſthood, family motives, and other cauſes, have made it ſomewhat leſs in the preſent times; ſtill however philoſophy makes its way. In the mean time conviction is not wanting, and the theory is as perfect as can be deſired. The archbiſhop himſelf, like his brother the biſhop of Wurtzburg, is a man whom the knowledge of men and things have raiſed to the poſſeſſion of many great places: they were his merits alone that engaged the emperor to recommend him upon the vacancy of this ſee. You meet with very well-informed men amongſt his counſellors and miniſters, one of whom is equal to the talk of governing a much greater country than the electorate of Mentz.

It was probably out of reſpect for the imperial court, at which the archbiſhop was ſome time miniſter of Mentz, that he introduced ſeveral innovations here not a little detrimental to the welfare of the ſtate. He is one of the great imitators of the empreſs's eſtabliſhments for the preſervation of chaſtity. He has alſo

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed it as a maxim in his conſiſtory, to compel the man who has ſeduced a woman to marry her, in order to prevent the bad conſequences of whoredom and fornication. Pity that the enlightened prelate does not ſee the bad conſequences which muſt ariſe from ſuch aſſociations. They ſhewed me young men here, who had become huſbands in this way. A loſs of all true love and fidelity, the unfruitfulneſs of the marriage bed, adultery, and the moſt ſcandalous corruptions of every kind, muſt enſue from ſuch regulations. Formerly the ſame laws were eſtabliſhed at Naples; but experience ſoon taught that wiſe legiſlature, that they were detrimental; and the whores were left to their fate. The emperor has likewiſe repealed them at Vienna; nor will it be long before all the world is convinced that every phyſical interpoſition in matters of bare morality muſt be prejudicial. It is ſaid, indeed, that laws of this kind prevent the murder of baſtard children; but thoſe, who argue thus do not conſider that the coolneſs they introduce between the married pairs, and the other diſorders they give riſe to, occaſion murders by the dozens. It is indeed too cruel to make the whole happineſs of a young man's life depend upon the ſeduction of an hour.

There

There are few cities in Germany, beſides Vienna, which contain ſo rich and numerous a nobility as this does: there are ſome houſes here, which have eſtates of one hundred thouſand guilders, or ten thouſand pounds a year. The Counts of Baſſenheim, Schonborn, Stadion, Ingelheim, Elz, Oſtein, and Walderdorf, and the Lords of Dahlberg, Breitenbach, with ſome others, have incomes of from thirty to one hundred thouſand guilders. Sixteen or eighteen houſes have from fifteen to thirty thouſand guilders, annual revenue. The nobility of this place are ſome of the oldeſt and moſt untainted in Germany. The fat canonries, and the hopes of ſome time or other producing an elector, make them ſo careful to preſerve themſelves pure. How profitable it is for a family to ſee one of its branches on the archiepiſcopal throne, you may gather from hence. The late elector, who was not the beſt œconomiſt in the world, and had but little Nepotiſm about him, contrived to leave his family nine hundred thouſand guilders, of which, however, they have only the enjoyment, as it returns to the States after their death. His anceſtor, a Lord of Oſtein, left behind him four millions of Rheniſh guilders.

There are, amongſt the nobility of this place, many perſons of extraordinary merit, who join uncommon knowledge to all the duties of active life. Upon the whole, they are far ſuperior to the greater part of the German nobility. Their education, however, is ſtill too ſtiff. The firſt miniſter of the court was refuſed admittance into their aſſemblies, for not being ſufficiently noble; and they think they degrade themſelves by keeping company with bourgeois. They all ſpeak a miſerable French jargon, and are aſhamed of their mother-tongue; ſo that of courſe they know nothing of the literature of their own country, though extremely converſant in every trifle which comes from our preſſes. Their tables, dreſſes, and equipages, are all in the high Pariſian ton; but if the poor barons did but know what wretched figures they cut at Paris, and how poor an opinion is entertained of them there, notwithſtanding the compliments they are loaded with for the ſake of the louis-d'ors, they would wiſh the dreſſes and equipages, *a la Pariſienne*, at the Devil. Some few of them, indeed, as the Lord of Dahlberg, the Stadtholder of Erfurth, Baron Groſchlag, Baron van der Leyen, and a few more, have brought ſomething home from Paris, beſides the patois of our fiſh-women, and

and the cut of our clothes; but the number of theſe improved men is too ſmall upon the whole not to make it adviſeable to prevent the preſent nobility from coming into our country, where, for the moſt part, they only expoſe their native land, and leave their healths and fortunes behind them. I am acquainted with ſome young men of faſhion, who, from being bred at home, are conſtant ſubjects of deriſion to the foreign educated nobility, by whom they are treated as cockneys; but they remain in poſſeſſion of their plump and red cheeks; and though they may not figure in a circle, or make a good bow, or ſtand upon one leg, they have good ſound underſtandings, and know how to have a proper regard for the peaſant and mechanic. The apparent contraſt betwixt theſe perſons and the barons is a ſtronger argument againſt the modern education, than any other I could make uſe of.

The clergy of this place are the richeſt in Germany. A canonry brings in three thouſand five hundred Rheniſh guilders in a moderate year. The canonry of the provoſt is, without compariſon, the richeſt in Germany: it brings him in forty thouſand guilders a-year. Each of the deanries is worth two thouſand ſix hundred guilders. The income of the chapter all together amounts to three hundred thouſand guil-

ders. Though it is forbidden by the canons of the church for any one to have more than a ſingle prebend, there is not an eccleſiaſtic in this place but what has three or four; ſo that there is hardly a man amongſt them, who has not at leaſt eight thouſand guilders a-year. The laſt provoſt, a count of Elts, had prebends enough to procure him an income of ſeventy-five thouſand guilders. Excluſive of the cathedral, there are ſeveral other choirs, in which the canonries bring in from twelve to fifteen hundred guilders a-year. To give you an idea of the riches of the monaſteries of this place, I will only tell you, that at the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, their wine, which was reckoned to ſell extremely cheap, produced one hundred and twenty thouſand rix dollars. A little while ago, the elector aboliſhed one Carthuſian convent, and two nunneries, in the holy cellars of which there was found wine for at leaſt five hundred thouſand rix dollars.

Notwithſtanding this great wealth, there is not a more regular clergy in all Germany than that of this place. There is no dioceſe, in which the regulations made by the council of Trent have been more ſtrictly adhered to, than they have here; the archbiſhops having made a particular point of it, both at the time of the reformation,

reformation, and ever ſince. One thing which greatly contributes to keep up diſcipline is the not ſuffering any prieſt to remain in the country, who has not fixed and ſtated duties, and a revenue annexed to them. Moſt of the irregularities in Bavaria, Auſtria, and other countries, ariſe from Abbés, who are obliged to ſubſiſt by their daily induſtry, and any maſſes which they can pick up. Theſe creatures are entirely unknown here. The theological tenets of this court are alſo much purer than thoſe of any other eccleſiaſtical Prince in Germany. I was pleaſed to ſee the Bible in the hands of ſo many common people, eſpecially in the country. I was told that the reading of it was not forbidden in any part of the dioceſe, only perſons were enjoined not to read it through, without the advice of their confeſſors. For a long time ſuperſtition has been hunted through its utmoſt receſſes; and though it is not quite poſſible to get entirely clear of pilgrimages, and wonder-working images, you will meet with no prieſt bold enough to exorciſe, or to preach ſuch nonſenſe as we hear in the pulpits of other German churches. It is ſingular enough that Bellarmin's book on the Hierarchy was forbid by public proclamation, ſo long as eighteen years ago. The late elector did a

great deal towards the cleanſing of the Holy Sheepcote: but he fell under the Herculean labour; which, however, the preſent elector purſues, though with ſomewhat a more moderate zeal. The former was terrible to the monks, but his attention to them rendered him a little too careleſs of the ſecular prieſts, who under his adminiſtration rather paſſed the bounds of a decent liberty, and aſſumed too gallant an air. What think you, for inſtance, of a prieſt appealing in his public lectures to Voltaire on Toleration, and other ſuch books? or of ſuch authors as Bayle, and Helvetius, being common in the hands of ſtudents in logic? and this, which made it ſingularly ridiculous, at a time when the jeſuits were ſtill diſputing with all their eagerneſs on the infallibility of the Pope, and the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary? The preſent elector extends his fatherly care to the regulars, as well as the ſeculars, and has brought them to a regularity, which does himſelf, as well as them, great honour.

It is impoſſible to give you an idea of the veneration in which the late prelate is deſervedly held. From the conviction that without a good education, all projects of improvement and alteration are only palliatives, which do not touch the

the main ſore; this archbiſhop gave 30,000 guilders a year out of his own privy purſe towards the erection of ſchools and other foundations for the education of youth. The preſent archbiſhop, who found the foundation of ſchools for the common people laid to his hands, continues to build upon it with ſome deviation from the old plan; but he directs his chief attention to the improvement of the education of the higher orders, and the extention of arts and ſciences. With this view he has given the ground, on which the three monaſteries which he has pulled down ſtood, to the Univerſity, which by this means has raiſed its heretofore rather ſmall income to 100,000 guilders. As this prelate is entirely free from any temptation to Nepotiſm, he has it in his power to do more for the muſes than any other German Prince.

The anecdote related in Mr. Pilati's travels of a Swiſs officer, who could find no inns to receive his ſervants on account of their religion, does not accord with the ſpirit which at preſent, at leaſt, generally obtains here. I was in ſeveral inns, the maſters of which, when once they knew that I was a proteſtant, offered me meat, of their own accord. It is probable that the officer had not made the grand tour of all the

inns; for things are here much as they are in other places: in one ſtreet they read legends, and in another, converſe with Locke and Newton. Whoever attempts to judge of Paris by the inhabitants of the Porcheron; or of Berlin, from thoſe who had well nigh raiſed a rebellion on account of a pſalm book; or of Hamburgh, from the carrot women headed by Paſtor Goſſe; will be ſure to be miſtaken.

Though the trade of this place has been conſtantly on the encreaſe for theſe eighteen or twenty years paſt, yet it is by no means what it ought to be, from the ſituation, and other advantages. The perſons here, who call themſelves merchants, and who make any conſiderable figure, are in fact only brokers, who procure their livelihood at the expence of the country or territory round, or who act for the merchants of Franckfort. You will judge of the wretched ſtate things are in, when I aſſure you, that 'tis difficult to procure a bill of exchange of thirty thouſand guilders. A few toy-ſhops, five or ſix druggiſts, and four or five manufacturers of tobacco, are all that can poſſibly be called traders. There is not a banker in the whole town; and yet this country enjoys the ſtaple privilege, and commands, by means of the Mayne, Necker, and Rhine, all the exports

ports and imports of Alſatia, the Palatinate, Franconia, and a part of Suabia and Heſſe, as far as the Netherlands. The port too is conſtantly filled with ſhips, but few of them contain any merchandize belonging to the inhabitants of the place. Religious principles are the true cauſe of this evil. When the Huguenots were driven out of France, a great number of them were deſirous of ſettling here. They offered the Elector to build a city juſt above Mentz, (at the conflux of the Rhine and Mayne, between Caſſel and Coſtheim,) to fortify it at their own expence; to keep a conſtant garriſon there, and, beſides all this, to pay a large annual ſum to the ſtate, provided only they might be allowed the freedom of their religion, and a participation of the rights of the citizens of Mentz. The archbiſhop of that time did not chuſe that hereſy ſhould build her neſt ſo near him; but the laſt has often been heard to expreſs a wiſh that a ſimilar offer were to be made to him; and the preſent would moſt joyfully comply with it. But ſuch opportunities are but ſeldom found; and the times in which it was cuſtomary to drive out Huguenots are gone by.

The pride and extravagance of the nobility are another hindrance to trade. They and the eccleſiaſtics are poſſeſſed of the largeſt capitals, which

which are entirely employed in the internal conſumption. Whilſt the merchant of Franckfort has a place amongſt the magiſtrates of his country; thoſe of this place meet only with the profoundeſt contempt from the gentry, who will not ſuffer them to aſſociate with them. Inſtead of catching as they do all the little airs of the London and Pariſian nobleſſe, they would do much better to learn of them the art of doubling their revenues by commercial induſtry.

I have already told you that the faces of the inhabitants of this city and the country round it are intereſting. The peaſants are beſides very ſtrongly built, and are diſtinguiſhable, by their ruddy freſh complexions, from the inhabitants of Bavaria, and the northern parts of Germany, who generally have very ſallow complexions; but I was not pleaſed with the ſet of the bones any where along the Mayne, or even in part of Heſſe. Thoſe of the inhabitants of this country are particularly diſpleaſing. The knees are all either bent in like a taylor's, or ſtand out ſtraight like a ſtick. You hardly ever meet with a clever well-limbed perſon. This is owing to the ſenſeleſs and abſurd faſhion, which ſtill prevails here, of ſwaddling cloaths. I could not but be extremely angry with the mothers, who dreſſed up their children thus, like

like pieces of wood, and ſuffered them to lay in this unnatural poſture all day long. There cannot be a doubt but this conſtraint muſt have its effect on the ſoul, which in the firſt years is ſo cloſely united to the body. You muſt not expect to meet here with any of the Germans deſcribed by Tacitus: black and brown hair is much more common than white. The inhabitants of the neighbouring country of Darmſtadt more nearly reſemble the old inhabitants.

An attentive obſerver eaſily diſcovers by the external appearance of the inhabitants, what natives of Germany have had ſtrangers mixt amongſt them, and what countries have been entirely occupied by foreign colonies. No doubt but that the black and brown hair of the inhabitants of this place is derived from the Romans, who had a ſtation here.

LETTER LXIV.

Mentz.

AFTER the Pope, there is no doubt but the archbiſhop of this place is the moſt conſiderable and richeſt prelate in the Chriſtian world. The ſee is indebted for its increaſe of riches

riches to St. Boniface, who may be called, with great juſtice, the apoſtle of the Germans. It was this man, an Engliſhman by birth, who in the time of Charlemagne, baptiſed Witikind, and the other brave Saxons, who had ſo long reſiſted baptiſm with their ſwords, and ſpread the empire of the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt as far as the northern and eaſtern ſeas. He it was who introduced the Roman liturgy into Germany, and made the ſavage inhabitants abſtain from eating horſe's fleſh. But he raiſed the papal power to a higher pitch than it had been raiſed in any other country in Chriſtendom. According to the teſtimony of Aventinus, ſeveral biſhops reproached Boniface with having diminiſhed their dignity, by the new oath of homage he introduced, and with having introduced ſuperſtition and irreligion in company with the ſplendid ceremonies of the Romiſh church. But whoever conſiders the ſtate of the Saxons at that time, will ſee that the enforcing the papal ſupremacy was the only efficacious means that could be made uſe of for raiſing a laity, and a clergy if poſſible ſtill more barbarous than they (as they could literally neither write nor read), from their ſavage ſlumbers. Had it been only the connecting together the German eccleſiaſtics, by means of the papal Hierarchy, and the bringing them acquainted

with other European nations; this alone would have been a ſignal ſervice done them. Be this however as it may, the vicar of Chriſt repaid the ſervices of his apoſtles with overflowing meaſure. All the new-founded biſhopricks in the north of Germany were made ſubject to the ſee of Mentz, which Boniface had choſen for his reſidence.

The provinces, the moſt conſiderable in the whole papal dominions, all Swabia, Franconia, Bohemia, and almoſt all Saxony, with a part of Switzerland, Bavaria, and the upper Rhine, belong to this dioceſe. Though the reformation, and revenge of the kings of Bohemia, have leſſened it one third, it ſtill contains the archbiſhoprick of Sprengel and eleven biſhopricks, moſt of which are the moſt conſiderable in Germany, as Wurzburg, Paderborn Hildeſheim Augſbourg, &c.

It could not fail but that as the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt extended his juriſdiction to temporal affairs, his ambaſſadors (for ſo Boniface called himſelf, and ſo the council of Trent calls all biſhops) ſhould likewiſe make their fortune in the matters of this world, a thing the more likely to happen, as the eccleſiaſtics of that time were evidently ſuperior to the laity in ſcience, and alſo the greateſt politicians of their day.

Spiritual

Spiritual and temporal affairs were indeed ſo interwoven, that the moſt eminent German biſhop would of courſe be the moſt powerful elector. The ſame thing happened in Britain, Poland, and in other countries, in which the conſtitutions were all ariſtocratical. The landgraves of Heſſe, the Palatines, nay even the emperor himſelf thought it no diſgrace to pay allegiance to the archbiſhop of Mentz. When the building of the papal monarchy was completed by Gregory the VII. the archbiſhops of Mentz became powerful enough to be at the head of the empire. In the 13th and 14th centuries, they were ſo eminent, as to be able to make emperors without any foreign aſſiſtance; and it was to one of them that the houſe of Hapſburg was indebted for its firſt elevation.

Since the boundaries of the two powers have been more accurately aſcertained, and the temporal has ſo much got the better of the ſpiritual, the power and influence of the archbiſhops of this place have of courſe been much reduced; ſtill, however, they are poſſeſſed of very important prerogatives, which they might exert with much more efficacy than they do, were it not that various circumſtances have rendered them too dependant on the emperors. They are ſtill the ſpeakers in the Electoral College, have

have the appointment of the diets under the emperors, and may order a re-examination of the proceedings of the imperial courts. Theſe high privileges are, however, too much ſubject to the controul of the houſe of Auſtria; nor are their ſpiritual powers any longer what they once were. Their ſuffragan biſhops have taken it into their heads that all biſhops are alike as to power, and that the title of archbiſhop only intitles its poſſeſſor to the firſt place amongſt brothers who are equal; it is true indeed that now and then appeals are received from the conſiſtory of ſome ſuffragans to that of our vicar general, but they generally end in a further appeal to Rome; and the metropolitan dignity commonly loſes as much by them as it gets.

The temporals, however, which are ſtill annexed to this chair, make him who ſits in it rich amends for the diminution of his ſpiritual and political ſplendour. Though he does not abſolutely poſſeſs the largeſt, yet he certainly has the richeſt and moſt peopled domain of any eccleſiaſtical potentate in Germany. The country, it is true, does not contain more than 125 German miles ſquare; whereas the archbiſhoprick of Saltzburg contains 240; but then Saltzburg has only 250,000 inhabitants; whereas Mentz has 320,000. The natural riches of the territory of Mentz,

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and its advantageous ſituation, make a ſubject of Mentz much richer than one of Saltzburg, the greateſt part of which is only inhabited by herdſmen. In the territory of Mentz there are 40 cities; in that of Saltzburg only ſeven.

The tax on veſſels which go down the Rhine of itſelf produces 60,000 guilders, or 6000l. a year, which is nearly as much as all the mines of Saltzburg put together, excepting only the ſalt mine at Halle. The tax on wine, here and in the country round, produces the court above 100,000 guilders, or 10,000l. a year, in which ſum we do not reckon the cuſtoms of the countries which lye at a greater diſtance. Upon the whole, the income of the preſent archbiſhop may be valued at 1,700,000 guilders, or 170,000l. At leaſt I know for a certainty, that in the laſt years of the late archbiſhop, they brought in 1,800,000 guilders; and though the preſent elector gave up to his ſubjects two out of 15 or 16 poll taxes, which they were bound to pay; theſe do not amount to above 100,000 guilders; and he has much improved ſeveral other ſources of revenue.

If the lands of the elector lay altogether, they would produce a ſufficiency of corn and all the prime neceſſaries of life; but as ſeveral parts of them lye wide aſunder, the people are compelled to purchaſe a great deal from foreigners. The

capital

capital itſelf, as well as the adjacent Rhinegau depends on the Palatinate for its corn, notwithſtanding the great abundance of that and every other ſpecies of grain in its own poſſeſſions in the Wetterau. The nobleſt production of the elector's territory on the Rhine is the wine, which is almoſt the only true Rheniſh. Connoiſſeurs, indeed, allow the wines of Neirſtein, Bacharach, and a very few other places out of this country to be true Rheniſh. But they do not give this name to the wines of the Palatinate, of Bardon, and of Alſatia.

There is a great deal of wine made in the countries which lie on the ſouth and weſt of the Rhine, at Laubenheim, Bodenheim, Budeſheim, and Bingen; but the true Rheniſh, that which inſpires ſo many who are and ſo many who are not poets, comes only from the Rhinegau, which lies on the northern banks of the Rhine.

A few days ago, I went with a company from this place on a party of pleaſure to the Rhinegau, and was preſent at one of the prettieſt village feſtivities I have ever beheld. Our veſſel had a much better appearance than the common ſmacks you meet with in Germany, and was very like a ſmall Dutch boat. As ſoon as we had paſſed the winding which the proud Rhine

makes to the weſtward, about three miles below Mentz, we had a proſpect before us, which is ſeldom beheld in any country except Switzerland. The Rhine grows aſtoniſhingly wide, and forms a kind of ſea, near a mile broad, in which you ſee ſeveral well wooded little iſlands at your right. The Rhinegau forms an amphitheatre, the beauties of which are beyond all deſcription. At Walluf, the very high hills come nearly down to the river ſide; from thence they recede again into the country, forming a kind of half circle, the other end of which is fifteen miles off at Rudeſheim on the banks of the Rhine. The banks of the river, the hills which form the circles, and the ſlopes of the great mountain, are thick ſown with villages and hamlets. The white appearance of the buildings, and the fine blue ſlated roofs of the houſes playing amidſt the various green of the landſcape, have an admirable effect. In the ſpace of every mile as you ſail down the river, you meet with a village which in any other place would paſs for a town. Many of the villages contain from three to four hundred families; and there are thirty-ſix of them in a ſpace of fifteen miles long, and ſix miles broad, which is the width of this beautiful amphitheatre. The declivities of all the hills and mountains are planted thick with vineyards and fruit trees, and

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the thick wooded tops of the hills caſt a gloomy horror over the otherwiſe cheerful landſcape. Every now and then, a row of rugged hills run directly down to the ſhore; and domineer majeſtically over the leſſer hills under them. On one of theſe great mountains, juſt about the middle of the Rhinegau you meet with *Johannis-Berg*, a village, which produces ſome of the beſt Rheniſh. Before this village is a pretty little riſing, and near the banks of the river, there is a very fine old caſtle, which gives unſpeakable majeſty to the whole landſcape. Indeed, in every village, you meet with ſome or other large building, which contributes very much to the decoration of the whole.

This country is indebted for its riches to this ſemicircular hill, which protects it from the cold winds of the eaſt and north, at the ſame time that it leaves room enough for the ſun to exerciſe his benign influences. The groves and higher ſlopes of the hills make excellent paſtures, and produce large quantities of dung, which, in a country of this ſort, is of ineſtimable value.

The bank of the Rhine, oppoſite to the Rhinegau, is exceedingly barren, and heightens the beauty of the proſpect on the other ſide, by the contraſt it exhibits; on this ſide, you hardly meet above three or four villages, and theſe are far diſtant

from each other. The great interval between them is occupied by heaths and meadows, only here and there a thick buſh affords ſome ſhade, and a few corn fields among the villages enliven the gloomy landſcape. The back ground of this country is the moſt pictureſque part of it. It is formed by a narrow gullet of mountains, which diminiſh in perſpective between Rudeſheim and Bingen. Perpendicular mountains and rocks hang over the Rhine in this place, and ſeem to make it the dominion of eternal night. At a diſtance, the Rhine ſeems to come out of this landſcape, through a hole under ground; and it appears to run tediouſly, in order to enjoy its courſe through a pleaſant country the longer. Amidſt the darkneſs which covers this back ground, the celebrated Mouſe tower ſeems to ſwim upon the river. In a word, there is not any thing in this whole tract, that does not contribute ſomething to the beauty and magnificence of the whole; or if I may be permitted the expreſſion, to make the paradiſe more welcome. As you ſail along the Rhine, between Mentz and Bingen, the banks of the river form an oval amphitheatre, which makes one of the richeſt and moſt pictureſque landſcapes to be ſeen in Europe.

The night was far advanced when we came to Geyſenheim: before we landed, we had another

proſpect

proſpect not often ſeen; we could diſcover almoſt the whole coaſt of the Rhinegau, which appeared one continued row of cities; the lights in the ſeveral villages made them look like a great illuminated city, and the reflection on the glaſſy Rhine was extremely beautiful.

The day after our arrival we went to Rudeſheim, where we had been invited by an eccleſiaſtic of Mentz. We found our hoſt with a numerous company, ſome of whom were proteſtants. After dinner he carried us in proceſſion to his great ſaloon, from whence we had a moſt ſuperb view of the here very wide Rhine, and the village of Bingen. The whole of the preparations ſeemed to announce a ſplendid feſtival, the nature and character of which appeared a riddle to me. On a ſudden the doors of the ſaloon were opened, and there came forth in feſtive order a band of muſicians, followed by two pretty girls, well dreſſed, who brought in a large bunch of grapes, on a table covered with a fine cloth. The ſides of the table were ornamented with flowers. They put the bunch of grapes in the middle of the ſaloon, on a kind of throne which was raiſed on a table; and I now diſcovered that our hoſt was celebrating the feſtival of the firſt ripe bunch of grapes in his vineyard; a cuſtom, it ſeems, moſt religiouſly obſerved by all the rich

inhabitants of this country. This feaſt was the more acceptable, as it happened that the grapes had this year ripened uncommonly late. After the altar of Bacchus was erected, our hoſt made a ſhort, but excellent ſpeech, ſuited to the nature of the feſtivity; and then we danced round the grape. Never in my life, brother, have I danced with ſuch pleaſure as I did here. The remembrance of theſe joyous moments ſtill poſſeſſes and tranſports me. Were I to form a commonwealth, feſtivals of this ſort ſhould be the only ones ſeen in it. Can there, indeed, be a more ſacred or more reſpectable holiday, than that in which we joyfully thank the Creator for the benefits he has beſtowed upon us? Nor was our pleaſure diminiſhed by this not turning out the only ripe bunch of grapes in the vineyard of our hoſt; for, though on a nearer inveſtigation we found more, we contended for the honour of the grape round which we had danced and ſung, with more heat than if it had been an oriental pearl of the ſame ſize.

Rudeſheim is a rich village, which contains about 2500 inhabitants. The wine of this place is looked upon as without compariſon the beſt of the Rhinegau, and conſequently of all Germany. I found it much more fiery than that of Hochheim; but for pleaſantneſs of taſte, there is no com-

compariſon betwixt them. The beſt Rudeſheim, like the beſt Hochheimer, ſells upon the ſpot for three guilders the bottle. You can have no tolerable wine here for one guilder, nor any very good for two; at leaſt I ſhould prefer the worſt Burgundy I ever taſted to any Rudeſheimer I met with either here or at Mentz, for theſe prices. Indeed, the wine of our ſpiritual hoſt was far better than any we could get at the inn. It ſtands to reaſon, that the ſame vintage furniſhes grapes of very different degrees of goodneſs; but beſides this, it is in the Rhinegau as every where elſe. The beſt wines are generally ſent abroad by the poor and middling inhabitants, and the worſt kept for internal conſumption; for the expence of the carriage being the ſame in both caſes, ſtrangers had much rather pay a double price for the good than have the bad. It is only rich people, ſuch as our hoſt was, who can afford to keep the produce of their land for their own drinking. Upon this principle, I have eaten much better Swiſs cheeſes out of Switzerland than in it, and have drank much better Rheniſh in the inns of the northern parts of Germany, than in the country where the wine grows. The poſition of the country alſo contributes to render the wine dearer than it would otherwiſe be. As the beſt wine grows in its more northern

parts, the eaſy tranſport by the Rhine to Holland, and all parts of the world, raiſes its price above its real value.

The place where the flower of the Rudeſheim wine grows is preciſely the neck of the land, formed by the winding of the Rhine to the north, after it has run to the weſtward from Mentz hither. This neck, which is a rock almoſt perpendicular, enjoys the firſt rays of the riſing, and the laſt of the ſetting ſun. It is divided into ſmall low terraces, which are carried up to the utmoſt top of the hill like ſteep ſtairs; theſe are guarded by ſmall walls, and earthen mounds, which are often waſhed away by the rain. The firſt vine was brought hither from France, and they ſtill call the beſt grape the Orleanois. They plant the vine ſtocks very low, ſcarce ever more than four or five feet high. This way of planting the vine is favourable to the production of a great deal of wine, but not to its goodneſs, as the phlegmatic and harſh parts of it would certainly evaporate more, if the ſap was refined through higher and more numerous canals. This is undoubtedly the reaſon why every kind of Rheniſh has ſomething in it that is harſh, ſour, and watery. The harveſt of the beſt vineyards, which are the lower ones, in the above-mentioned neck of land, is often bought before-hand, at the advanced

advanced price of ſome ducats, by Dutch and other merchants. It muſt be a very rich ſtock to yield above four meaſures of wine. You may eaſily imagine, that the cultivation of vineyards muſt be very expenſive in this country, as the dung, which is extremely dear, muſt be carried up to the top of the mountains on the peaſants ſhoulders.

In our return through Geyſenheim, I viſited the magnificent palace of a Count of Oſtein, the richeſt gentleman in Mentz, who has laid out ſeveral millions he inherited from his couſin, a former elector, in life annuities in the Dutch funds. The houſe, which is in the modern taſte, pleaſed me much: but what delighted me moſt, was, the half French and half Engliſh garden. Behind Geyſenheim, the Count has ſtruck out ſome alleys through a wood, in which there are alſo ſome wilderneſſes. The great alley leads through a winding walk to the top of that rock at the foot of which the beſt Rudeſheim wine grows. At the top of this rock the Count has built a terrace, ſurrounded by a rail, commanding one of the fineſt proſpects I have ever ſeen. You look down upon the vine hills cut into terraces, and ſee the Rhine, which, rolling through the threatening hills which block it up, here begins to be encompaſſed in deep night. This view down to the

the river is moſt terrific. The partly covered and partly naked rocks, which encompaſs the river, make you think it is forcing its way through a ſubterraneous cavern. The rock, on which you ſtand, ſtretches itſelf to the oppoſite ſhore, where another abrupt mountain ſtands like an immenſe pillar. The meeting together of theſe two great mountains occaſions a fall in the Rhine, the dead noiſe of which has a wonderful effect in the landſcape. On the Rudeſheimer ſide, and near the ſhore you look directly down upon from the terrace, there has been a paſſage cut through the hard rocks, big enough for the largeſt ſhips to ſail through; this is called the Bingenloch. The rock, which occaſions the fall of the Rhine, juts out wonderfully above the water in the midſt of the ſtream, and forms an iſland partly naked and partly covered with briars, on which the celebrated Mouſe tower ſtands. If you look up the Rhine, you have a view of the beſt part of the ſmiling Rhinegau, and the whole oppoſite ſhore. Varied and beautiful as this part of the proſpect is, it is ſtill exceeded by what you ſee on looking ſtraight before you from the terrace: you have here a view into a narrow gulph, through which the river Nahe, which fills its bottom, communicates with the Rhine. On the fore ground, where the Nahe joins with the Rhine,

you

you have, to the right, the well wooded coloſſal mountain, to which the Rudeſheimer rock joins itſelf under water. On the neck of land to the left, you have the city of Bingen at the foot of another mountain, the tops of which are crowned by an old caſtle. The gullet itſelf, which is near two miles long, is waſte and dark; only the red ſlate of a mountain in it has a ſingular effect, when oppoſed to the woods, which appear every where to the right, and to the mountains on the left, which are partly naked and mean, and partly planted with vineyards. In the middle of the gullet there is a ſtone bridge over the Nahe, which ſtill bears the name of Druſus's bridge, from Druſus Germanicus, its builder, and extremely raiſes the pictureſque view of the whole. At the end of the gullet ſtands a mill, not leſs pictureſque than the bridge. Such is the fore ground; and the back ground is ſtill more beautiful. The gullet, which contains the Nahe, is like a glaſs, through which you look down upon the moſt laughing landſcape. The clear light, the diſtant blue of the hills and mountains, ſome beautiful villages, ſoft woods, and the vine hills around all theſe, indicate, that the country behind this black ſluice is an open one, and moſt richly ornamented: this is a proſpect the like to which I have never yet ſeen.

The

The city of Bingen, which, together with the toll on the Rhine, worth about 30,000 guilders, belongs to the chapter of Mentz, is extremely beautiful, and contains about 4,500 inhabitants. A great part of the corn, which is carried into the Rhinegau from the neighbouring Palatinate, comes through this place, which, on the other hand, ſupplies the Palatinate with drugs, and various foreign commodities. This traffic alone would make the place very lively; but beſides this, it has very fruitful vineyards. The hill, at the foot of which it lies, and one ſide of which is made by the gullet, through which the Nahe runs into the Rhine, forms another ſteep rock behind this gullet parallel to the Rhine, and the golden Rudeſheimer mountain; it therefore enjoys the ſame ſun as this does, which makes the Rudeſheimer wine that grows on it little inferior to the Rudeſheimer.

After I had enjoyed this uncommonly beautiful proſpect during a few days, I ſpent a few more in the villages of the Rhinegau: here too I received ocular demonſtration that the cultivators of vineyards are not the happieſt of men. The inhabitants of theſe regions are ſome of them extremely rich, and ſome extremely poor; the happy middle ſtate is not for countries, the chief product of which is wine;

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for beſides, that the cultivation of the vineyard is infinitely more troubleſome and expenſive than agriculture, it is ſubjected to revolutions, which in an inſtant reduce the holder of land to the condition of a day-labourer. It is a great misfortune for this country, that though reſtrained by law, the nobility are, through connivance of the elector, allowed to purchaſe as much land as they pleaſe. The peaſant generally begins by running in debt for his vineyard; ſo that if it does not turn out well, he is reduced to day-labour, and the rich man extends his poſſeſſions, to the great detriment of the country. There are ſeveral peaſants here, who having incomes of thirty, fifty, or a hundred thouſand guilders a year, have laid aſide the peaſant, and aſſumed the wine merchant; but ſplendid as their ſituation is, it does not compenſate, in the eyes of the humane man, for the ſight of ſo many poor people with which the villages ſwarm. In order to render a country of this kind proſperous, the ſtate ſhould appropriate a fund to the purpoſe of maintaining the peaſant in bad years, and giving him the aſſiſtance which his neceſſities, and his want of ready money, may from time to time make convenient.

The inhabitants of the Rhinegau are a handſome and uncommonly ſtrong race of men. You ſee

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at the very firſt aſpect that their wine gives them merry hearts and ſound bodies. They have a great deal of natural wit, and a vivacity and jocoſeneſs, which diſtinguiſhes them very much from their neighbours. You need only compare them with ſome of theſe, to be convinced that the drinker of wine excels the drinker of beer and water, both in body and mind, and that the inhabitant of the South is much ſtouter than he who lives in the North; for though the wine drinker may not have quite as much fleſh as he who drinks only beer, he has better blood, and can bear much more work. Tacitus had already obſerved this, in his treatiſe *De moribus Germanorum*. "The "large and corpulent bodies of the Germans "(ſays he) have a great appearance, but are not "made to laſt." At that time almoſt all the Germans drank only water; but the mere drinking of wine has effected a revolution in ſeveral parts of Germany, which makes the preſent inhabitants of theſe countries very different from thoſe deſcribed by Tacitus. Black and brown hair is much commoner here than the white which made the Germans ſo famous in old Rome.

You will eaſily imagine that the monks fare particularly well in ſo rich a country. We made a viſit to the prelate of Erbach. I cannot find adequate words to diſcover the poverty of this

cloiſter. Theſe lordly monks, for ſo in every reſpect they are, have an excellent hunt, rooms magnificently furniſhed, billiard tables, half a dozen beautiful ſinging women, and a ſtupendous wine cellar, the well ranged batteries of which made me ſhudder. A monk, who ſaw my aſtoniſhment at the number of the caſks, aſſured me, that, without the benign influence which flowed from them, it would be totally impoſſible for the cloiſter to ſubſiſt in ſo damp a ſituation.

I was not ſurprized at the hoſpitality of theſe monks, as I had met with many ſcenes of the kind before, nor do I envy theſe worldly fathers the good lot they have met with on this earth; but I am not quite ſo well ſatisfied with the pains which ſome of them take to keep the people in ignorance and ſuperſtition. I was particularly diſpleaſed with the pilgrimage to a wood near Geyſenheim, where the capuchins work miracles in abundance. The very name of the place affords room for ſcandal and blaſphemy. It is called the *Need of God*. According to the legend, a ſmall wooden image of the Redeemer was, by the careleſſneſs or ignorance of a farmer, ſtuck in the hollow of a tree, where it remained for a long time, crying out, *Need* of God! *Need* of God! till at laſt ſome peaſants in the neighbourhood

hood came and removed the cauſe of the piteous cry. Since this time it has performed numberleſs miracles, which it is poſſible help the capuchins out of *their* neceſſities.

LETTER LXV.

Mentz.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great reduction, made by the archbiſhop of this place of his civil liſt, it ſtill remains by much too immoderate and expenſive. He has his miniſters, his counſellors of ſtate, and eighty or ninety privy counſellors of various denominations. The expence of this eſtabliſhment is very diſproportionate to the revenue of the ſtate. This is owing to the large number of poor nobility, who can only accept of employments of this kind. Ignorance of the true principles of government are the cauſes of this evil. The conſequences are, that a great number of perſons, who might be uſefully employed, live in idleneſs.

Even the military eſtabliſhment of the country appears to me more calculated for the purpoſe of feeding a hungry nobility, than for real uſe. At the acceſſion of the preſent elector, though the whole army only conſiſted of 2200 men, there were

were ſix generals. The regular eſtabliſhment paid for and ſupported by the country is 8000 men; but though there are only 2000 kept up, the money expended for their ſupport, particularly that given to numberleſs uſeleſs officers, might be made uſe of more for the benefit of the country. The army of the archbiſhop conſiſts of a German guard of 50 men and 25 horſes, a Swiſs guard, a ſquadron of huſſars of 130 men, (the moſt uſeful troops, as they purge the land of robbers and murderers), a corps of artillery of 104 men, three regiments of infantry of 600 men each, and ſome companies belonging to the armies of Franconia and the Upper Palatinate.

Of the fortifications of Mentz, we may ſay much the ſame as of the army. Were they, indeed, improved and kept up as they ought to be, they would vie with Luxemburg, and be the moſt powerful of all the barriers againſt France. It is true, that the nature of the ground does not allow of a regular plan; but for ſingle parts, I have ſeen no place of the ſame capabilities, where greater advantages have been taken of the ground for the erection of the ſeveral works. The beauty, as well as ſize of them, is indeed an object of great wonder; but though the circle of the Upper Rhine, and even the empire in general, has laid out great ſums on

the building theſe fortifications, parts of them are not finiſhed, and parts of them are ready to fall to pieces. Their extent, indeed, would require a great army to man. But this, as well as the maintaining and keeping them up, is evidently beyond the power of this court, or indeed of the whole circle of the Upper Rhine united. They are, therefore, alſo to be looked upon as one of the things, which ſerve more for magnificence than real uſe.

Whilſt the greater courts of Germany are endeavouring to ſimplify their ſeveral ſyſtems as much as poſſible, and to introduce into their ſeveral adminiſtrations, a ſtrong and efficacious ſpirit of œconomy; the diſſipation, pomp, and love of outſide ſhew of the leſſer ones, is beyond all bounds, and almoſt ſurpaſſes all belief. Theſe courts very much reſemble the expenſive puppet-ſhew theatre of Prince Eſterazi, which I deſcribed to you in a former letter; the orcheſtra is fine, the ſcenes beautiful, and the poets and machinery delectable; but the actors are only puppets, deficient in what conſtitutes true greatneſs. Theſe petty princes want to make up for it, by ſhining in little things, an affectation which would only deſerve ridicule, if it were not for the oppreſſion of the ſubject. As things are circumſtanced, it is much too ſerious a matter for

a friend of human nature to make merry with. This reproach, however, does not ſo much affect the preſent archbiſhop, who, as far as circumſtances allow him, is perhaps the only prelate, who endeavours to render his court and ſtate expences more uſeful than oſtentatious, as it does the neighbouring Palatinate through which I took a fortnight's ramble.

When I was at Munich, and ſaw there the uſeleſs heap of court attendants, eunuchs, dancers, ſingers, gardens, and generals, I placed a great part of them to the account of the laſt elector, and imagined the preſent had been unwilling to make any alterations, not to render himſelf odious, which was the more to be avoided, as the acquiſition of Bavaria had made his circumſtances very good; but how ſurprized was I, at my arrival at Manheim, to find the ſame taſte for magnificence, pleaſure, and idle expence. Would you believe, brother, that the court of Manheim, the revenue of which is not above 3,200,000 Rheniſh guilders, lays out 200,000 of them annually on its opera and muſic? Would you believe, that the keeping up the Schweſſingen gardens, ſcarce inferior to thoſe of Verſailles, is an annual expence of 40,000? and that the caſtles of Manheim and Schweſſingen coſt 60,000 guil-

ders a year? that the hunt coſts 80,000, and the ſtables 100,000 guilders? that this court has eleven regiments, with a general to each, which all together do not make above 5500 men? notwithſtanding the boaſts of the ſervants of the court, who, at the time of the diſpute between their maſter, the counts of Leinengen, and the city of Achin, ſpoke of 40,000 men to be ſent againſt the emperor, who threatened them with an execution, and 15,000 more ready to march againſt the city of Achin. I have already told you, when ſpeaking of Munich, that to make the puppet theatre complete, the two or three ſhips on the Rhine have a lord high admiral to them.

It is true, indeed, that the good elector is in a great meaſure innocent of this exceſſive waſte. His ſervants bring him in falſe eſtimates of his greatneſs, and flatter his weakneſs, in order to divide the plunder between themſelves.

The Palatinate is called the paradiſe of Germany. You will judge of its fruitfulneſs, when I tell you, that, excluſive of a great deal of wheat ſold in the territories of Mentz and Treves, and exported into Switzerland, it ſupplies France every year with 3000 combs of grain. A comb is a meaſure of 170 pounds. Beſides corn, they abound in wine and tobacco. But what gives

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the greateſt idea of the proſperity of the country, is a liſt of the taxes, which was ſhewed me by a collector. I do not believe there is a ſingle article, the air only which the people breathe excepted, which is not to be found amongſt them. Some contributions, ſuch as thoſe for the canal of Frankenthorn, dams on the Rhine, &c. which ought naturally to have ceaſed, when the neceſſities they were meant to ſerve (if indeed ſuch a uſeleſs and ſuperfluous canal can be called a neceſſity) have been turned into perpetual impoſts. The moſt wonderful thing of all, however, for a politician, are the cuſtoms of the Palatinate. Merely with a view of raiſing theſe, the cuſtom-houſes have been ſo increaſed, that almoſt every place in the high road has ſome particular cuſtom payable in it, and all the goods which paſs through it are likewiſe taxable. Prejudical as this eſtabliſhment is, even to the internal police of the country, as in conſequence of it a village is often three times more remote from the dwelling-place of its bailiff, than it ought to be, if nature and the good of the ſubjects were more conſulted than the benefit of the elector and his ſervants; yet is every ſpark of patriotiſm ſo extinguiſhed in this country, that there is no expectation of a change for the better ever being brought about.

In many places on the road, the only mark of the cuſtom-houſe is the great ſtick, which enforces payment. The poor people, who export the commodities of the country, are often compelled to go three miles out of the road to pay the tax. In ſhort, the only difference betwixt the practice of the ancient German nobility, who, even ſo low down as the times of the Emperor Maximilian, uſed to rob the merchant on the road, or compel paſſage-money from him; and the preſent ſyſtem of taxation in the Palatinate is, that the old nobility did that at the hazard of their heads, which the government of the Palatinate does without danger, and without conſciouſneſs of doing wrong.

In order to give you a ſtill better idea of the œconomy of this country, you muſt know that there is a monopoly eſtabliſhed for the furniſhing of all the wood burnt not only in the city of Manheim, but for ſome miles round. This is not ſuch a monopoly as that eſtabliſhed at Berlin, which you know rather helps the peaſant to ſell his wood, than otherwiſe. Here, a natural ſon of the elector, raiſed by him to the dignity of count, having entered into an agreement with the projector, procured the patent which has enabled him to live magnificently at the expence of the country.

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"The adminiſtration of this country is ſuch, that it is really diſguſting to me to pick out ſpecimens of it to lay before you. Every thing that you have ever heard of the *ſeparate* government of prieſts, miſtreſſes, baſtards, *parvenus*, projectors, eunuchs, bankrupts, and the like, exiſts in the Palatinate at one and the ſame time. I have ſpoken with ſeveral miniſters, who made no myſtery of having bought their places. Indeed there are more inſtances than one, of places having been put up at public auction, in the antichambers of the miſtreſſes. One natural conſequence of this is, the flagrant oppreſſions of the little governors or cuſtom-houſe officers, who are ſo many Turkiſh baſhaws, and are feared in their reſpective diſtricts as the executioners of the vengeance of heaven. I had the honour to dine with one of theſe baſhaws. The company was large and ſplendid. He and his numerous family abounded in rings, watches, lace, and every appendage of the moſt extravagant luxury: we had twenty-four diſhes at dinner, and amongſt the reſt young peacocks. The deſert was of a piece with the reſt, and every thing in the higheſt ton. Beſides this, the man had a ſnug ſtable, magnificent carriage, and hounds, and yet his ſalary was not more than 2000 guilders, or 200l. a year. How he could keep up ſuch

an eſtabliſhment on ſuch a revenue, would be, no doubt, eaſily learned from the poor peaſants under him, if we could obtain their confidence. With the rich peaſants, a baſhaw of this kind is naturally upon good terms. I was ſhewn a man, who, though he had been publicly baniſhed from another part of the empire, for his infamous conduct, had, notwithſtanding, by following the turnings and windings of this place, raiſed himſelf to a place, from whence he was enabled to look down upon his enemies with contempt. There is, indeed, no part of Germany, in which adventurers of all ſorts are ſo ſure to make their fortunes as they are here. Provided they take care to put part of the booty into the electoral cheſt, they are ſure to live unmoleſted. The *lotto* of Genoa, which, though decorated with a ſmooth and ſplendid name, is in fact no more than a Pharaoh table, at which the ſtate endeavours to cheat its ſubjects, thrives in no German ſoil ſo well as in this. It harmonized too well with the reſt of the ſyſtem of finance, not to be readily and eagerly adopted. I have ſeen lottery-office propoſals publiſhed with the elector's privilege, and decorated with his arms, in which it is ſaid, that a lottery is the *ſhorteſt*, *ſafeſt*, and *moſt becoming way*, for a man to make his fortune. Now, every body knows, that

that what advantage there is in a game of this kind is only for the rich, and that he who buys his thirty-twos and ſixty-fourths is ſure to be undone. What muſt we think, then, of a court, which uſes every trick and paltry artifice to entice its ſubjects to play a game, by which *they* are ſure to loſe, and *it* muſt gain at leaſt 100 per cent.? It is true, indeed, that there is ſuch a lottery in every court in Germany; but at none are ſuch mean tricks as theſe made uſe of to induce the ſubjects to play.

Theſe oppreſſions, however, great as they ſeem, are ſtill nothing in compariſon of what the proteſtants have to ſuffer from the court. According to repeated treaties, the eſtabliſhed religion of the country ſhould be the reformed; but notwithſtanding this, the catholics have found means to grow powerful enough, not only to be at the head of every thing themſelves, but to perſecute the proteſtants in the moſt infamous manner. For this purpoſe they have received villains of every kind into their villages, to increaſe the number of catholics; they have diſpoſſeſſed the proteſtants of all places and poſts whatever; they have treated them with every kind of indignity; nay, even in the courts of juſtice, the moſt ſcandalous and infamous partialities have taken place. And yet, ſo are human

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affairs conducted, amidſt this outrageous ty-ranny, and whilſt the emigrations to America have been ſuch, that the Engliſh know no other name for a German than that of Palatine, this court has met with authors, both in and out of the country, to extol the wiſdom of its councils: nay, would you think it! although half the ſubjects of the country are driven out of it, and the reſt ſo oppreſſed, that they hardly know how to live in it, there is a college for teaching the ſeveral branches of political œconomy ſubſiſting at *Lautern*, and projectors innumerable are ſent to Frankenthal to eſtabliſh manufactures!

That, notwithſtanding the repeated and multifarious vexations they are expoſed to, the farmers of this country are ſtill enabled to hold up their heads, is, no doubt, owing to the frequent emigrations. Theſe keep the price of land low, and enable the half who remain (for above half are driven out) to ſubſiſt with a tolerable degree of comfort.

Notwithſtanding all the reputation which the manufactures of the Palatinate have gained, there is more ſhew than ſubſtance about them. All thoſe of Frankenthal put together are not equal to ſingle ones which might be named in Auſtria, in Switzerland, at Berlin, and in ſeveral other countries. Excepting only the china manufactory,

nufactory, there is not a ſingle one which employs a hundred men, or has a capital of 100,000 guilders. But here they call a place where three men and a few boys are making wafers, a wafer *manufactory*. In this ſenſe, every taylor and ſhoemaker's ſhop may paſs for a manufactory. And yet they do not know how to prepare the produce of the country for the internal conſumption of it. The tobacco which grows in the Palatinate is carried into Holland to be made, and brought back again for conſumption. Another proof of the wiſdom of this government, is, the difficulties it places in the way of the exports of its own ſubjects. The city of Mentz, I have told you, ſubſiſts entirely by bread made in the Palatinate. Would you think that the court of Manheim, which, like all the other petty courts of Germany, is ever ready to quarrel with its neighbours, notwithſtanding every treaty and ſeeming appearance of amity between them, wanted to force the inhabitants of Mentz to come and buy their food in the Palatinate? Before this, the farmers carried it to the city market; but the court of Manheim eſtabliſhed weekly markets at Oppenhe im, and other places near the frontiers of Mentz. No doubt, it would have been an advantage to the Palatines, had ſtrangers brought the money to their markets,

markets, and the Elector might have ſet his own prices on his commodity, provided that Mentz, and the Rhinegau had been ſo entirely dependent upon him as not to have the poſſibility of a ſupply by any other means; but as ſoon as the people of Mentz ſaw themſelves compelled to pay more than they did before, they opened an immediate trade with the rich corn countries of the Wetterau, about Uſingen and Friedberg; the conſequence of which was, that the Palatines became the dupes of the caprices of their maſters, and were compelled to carry their commodity into France and Switzerland, with far more trouble, and far leſs profit. As, however, none of the projects of this court have any conſiſtency, the markets of Mentz have, within theſe few years paſt, been viſited again. The cuſtoms are no ſmall hindrance to exportation.

Manheim is a very regularly built pretty little city, containing about 25,000 inhabitants, of which, ſince the court reſides at Munich, it has loſt about 2000. The Manheimers very much want the elector to reſide with them, and leave Bavaria, which is at leaſt fifty times as large as the Palatinate, to be governed by a deputy. They cannot yet underſtand what it is their prince ſees in Munich, to give it the preference. Indeed they are ſo conſcious of the beauty of their own city,

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that they laugh in the face of any one who tells them there are finer places in the world than Manheim, which, after all, it is doing too much honour to to call it a miniature of Turin or Berlin, and other towns. Indeed, if you except the dull regularity of it, Munich is a much finer city than Manheim, which has nothing worth ſeeing in it but the caſtle, and church of the Jeſuits. Every thing elſe that is called fine here is ſo little and artificial, as to inſpire a knowing eye only with diſguſt. But the Manheimers are altogether the proudeſt people on earth. They have ſo great an idea of the power and riches of their country, as not to ſcruple to rank their prince with the greateſt monarchs in the world. They aſſure you, with very ſerious faces, that if they had not been the friends of peace, and averſe to the ſhedding of human blood, it would have been eaſy for them to have taken poſſeſſion of Bavaria by force, notwithſtanding all the pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria. Theſe ridiculous airs, no doubt, have ariſen from their being ſurrounded by leſſer ſtates, and their elector being the firſt of the ſmaller princes: but their univerſal motto in every thing is, "Much "buſtle for little buſineſs." The love of pleaſure, too, is ſo univerſal here, that a taylor's wife looks upon it as diſgraceful to be faithful to her

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huſband. This diſſipation, and the love of dreſs, has a very ſtriking aſpect, when contraſted with the deep poverty that obtains throughout. The women of this place are remarkably handſome, agreeable, and pleaſing.

The government of the Palatinate is one of the moſt arbitrary in Germany. There are no ſtates, and the privileges of the communities are the jeſt of the court. But here, more than in any other place in the world, you may be convinced that the moſt deſpotic prince in the world is the moſt limited. The elector depends on his loweſt ſervants, and is the dupe of all who ſurround him. Every ſubordinate miniſter is a deſpot in the ſame manner, as far as the ſphere of his power extends, ſo that when a ſovereign has not ſpirit enough to look into the details of government, or at leaſt to rebuke his miniſters, he is ſure to find there is a conſpiracy againſt him and the country, whilſt there is no body left to tell him the truth, or ſay a word for the good cauſe. It is impoſſible for the elector to lay the firſt ſtone of a building, without being cheated in the moſt ſcandalous manner.

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LETTER LXVI.

Cologn.

IF God vouchſafes me life, brother, I will once more ſail from Mentz hither; for never in my life had I a pleaſanter voyage. The ſail on the Danube is fine, but that on the Rhine far ſurpaſſes it; and indeed I know nothing to compare with this laſt, but the ſail on the lakes of Geneva or Zurich. My company was agreeable, and the veſſel a far different kind of a thing from the miſerable rafters on the Danube: it had a maſt and ſails, the deck had rails round it, and there were windows and other furniture in the cabin.

After having loſt ſight of the magnificent and laughing Rhinegau; we were carried through a narrow valley, entirely occupied by the Rhine, which opens under Bingen. The contraſt was extremely ſtriking. The hills, which hang perpendicularly over the Rhine, are ſometimes covered with various greens, ſometimes with naked ſtones, and now and then with blue or white ſlates: their appearance, their ſlope, the different and various culture which you ſee every now and then upon them, together with the windings

windings of the Rhine, change the proſpect almoſt every moment. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantageous ſituation of it, the banks of this vale are much more peopled, and much better cultivated, than any part of the Danube whatever. You have a village almoſt every three miles, and every hill is crowned with a caſtle, formerly the habitation of ſome German knight. The moſt pictureſque fancy can point nothing more romantic, than the ſituation of theſe cities and villages. We had a Scotchman with us, who had come over land from the Eaſt Indies. The man was like a madman. He found ſomething like Scotland in every place we admired; but on my aſking him what there was in his own country like the vineyards which we ſaw, he ſwore that, as to theſe, their uniformity and dull regularity made them an unpleaſing ſight; and obliged him to refreſh his eyes with a ſight of the impending hills. I anſwered him only by bringing him a glaſs of red Aſmannshauſer wine, which he found very drinkable.

The fineſt ſpots in this romantic country are thoſe about Bacharach and Kaub (which lie directly oppoſite each other on different ſides of the river), and thoſe about St. Goar and Coblenz. The ſituation of Bacharach is like the place itſelf, dark and tremendouſly beautiful. The hill,

hill, at the front of which the little town lies, hangs directly perpendicularly over it, and is, in part, covered with vineyards, which produce one of the beſt Rheniſh wines. The ſituation of Kaub is more open and more gay, and from the circumſtance of the houſes being painted of a light white upon a deep green, contraſts very pleaſingly with the wonderful black of Bacharack. In the midſt of the Rhine, betwixt the two cities, on a rock which hardly riſes above the ſurface of the water, ſtands a high, thick, ſolid tower, called the *Palatine*. This, which as well as the two towns, belongs to the Elector, is generally looked upon by the common people, as the original ſeat of the family. You can conceive nothing more ſingular or ſtriking in a landſcape, than the ſituation of this tower, when viewed from a certain diſtance.

The country about St. Goar is quite of a different kind. On the banks of the Rhine, on the right, and on one of the perpendicular hills, which are diſtinguiſhed by their majeſtic appearance, there ſtands an old caſtle which they ſtill keep up. The left ſhore, on which the city ſtands, is ſtill more perpendicular, but it is cultivated with ſingular induſtry. The vines are planted as at Rudeſheim on a number of ſmall aſcendant terraces, which riſe to a great height. The ſpace betwixt the

rock and the ſtream is ſo narrow, that the inhabitants are ſometimes compelled to build in the rock itſelf. Juſt above the city there riſes majeſtically a fort called Rheinfels, which gave its name to a branch of the houſe of Heſſe-Caſſel; but ſince the death of the poſſeſſor, has fallen, with the country belonging to it, to the head of that houſe. The town itſelf is very lively, and far the beſt betwixt Bingen and Coblentz. The inhabitants appear to be a very active race of men. A little above the city, the ſhort windings of the conſtrained Rhine form a whirlpool, known by the name of St. Goar's bank. Though no *remarkably* bad accidents ever happen here, we were witneſſes to one, which ſhews that it has not its name for nothing, as the whirlpool on the Danube has. A large veſſel from Cologne happened to be going down the river with us. It had taken on board an old experienced pilot, who, in the dangerous places, ſtood very deep in the river. The horſes pulled very ſtrong: on a ſudden, the pilot was ſo entirely borne down by the ſtream, that the veſſel lay in a minute on the other bank of the river, though this was a hundred and fifty paces diſtant from the place it was going down. By great good luck there was a wherry betwixt it and the rock, on which it ſtruck, which prevented

vented it from receiving great damage. It was, however, obliged to be hoven off.

About a mile above Coblentz, ſeveral old caſtles and little towns, ſituated at the top and bottom of theſe woods and hills, form very pleaſing views. At length you behold the little town of Lahnſtein, at the back of which there is a rough, tall mountain. Near the town, a gullet, through which the river Lahn runs into the Rhine, forms a very pleaſing perſpective. The valley is ſtill ſo narrow as to be wholly occupied by the Rhine. As you approach towards Coblentz, it begins to widen to the left. At a diſtance you ſee a magnificent convent of Carthuſians; on a great hill, ſtraight before you, the city; and to the right, the ſteep rock crowned by the fort of Ehrenbreitſtein. At the foot of the hill is the majeſtic caſtle inhabited by the prince, and ſeveral magnificent buildings. The whole has an effect not to be deſcribed.

Coblentz is a very pretty, though ſomewhat dead town, which contains about 12,000 inhabitants. The preſent maſter, a Saxon prince, and brother-in-law to the emperor, continues true to the old ſyſtem. He is exemplarily good, and I believe that it is his goodneſs, much more than any political views, which makes him ſo attached to the papal ſyſtem of church government. In a voyage

he lately made to Augſbourg, he carried his veneration for the pope ſo far, as to throw himſelf on his knees before him in the public church. There alſo exiſts a letter of his to his brother-in-law, in which he reproaches him in very ſevere terms, for his intended project of reform. Theſe remonſtrances were not, however, well received; the emperor looked upon the holy father in a very different light from the good archbiſhop. The latter, however, is upon the whole an excellent prince, nor does his piety, as that of princes ſometimes does, degenerate into indolence and weakneſs.

This eccleſiaſtic owes his advancement entirely to the emperor. He was firſt recommended by him to the chapter of Luttich, who refuſed the recommendation with great harſhneſs. The chapters of Mentz, Wurtzburgh, and Luttich, are the only ones in Germany, who endeavour to preſerve their freedom of election. Upon the refuſal of Luttich, the emperor tried Treves, who made leſs difficulty. As elector, he has at leaſt 500,000, and as biſhop of Augſbourg, near 200,000 guilders. Beſides this, he is coadjutor of Ellwangen, where, in time, he may expect at leaſt 8000 guilders more. Three ſuch pieces of preferment would almoſt make *me* think with Bellarmine: "Only make me pope (ſaid a Ro-

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"man patrician to one who wanted to convert "him), and I will be a Chriſtian!"

The country betwixt Coblentz and Cologne is very fine and very well peopled. There is a beautiful town near the latter. Newvied is quite new, regularly built, and full of induſtry. The inhabitants enjoy not only a perfect freedom of religion, but an exemption from taxes, very ſeldom to be met with in Germany. The place is more particularly diſtinguiſhed as the reſidence of a colony of Moravians. Juſt over againſt it, on the oppoſite bank of the Rhine, lies the old town of Andernach, which, though not ſo handſome as Newvied, is extremely full of life. Bonn, the reſidence of the elector of Cologne, is the largeſt and handſomeſt town betwixt Coblentz and Cologne. It contains 12,000 inhabitants. Till you come within two or three miles of Cologne, the banks of the Rhine have ſtill hills, only the chains of hills are ſofter than betwixt Coblentz and Mentz, and they are now and then broken by ſmall plains; but here the hills terminate to the right with ſeven large pyramids, called the ſeven hills. Theſe form a fine amphitheatre, and on one of them there is an old caſtle. From hence to the German ocean, there are no more remarkable hills. Here likewiſe end the dominions of the German Bacchus.

The whole ſtrip of land from here to Mentz is one of the richeſt and beſt peopled in all Germany. In this courſe of eighteen German miles, they reckon twenty cities, which lie on the banks of the Rhine, and were moſt of them known to the Romans. There ſtill remain ſigns enough to prove, that theſe were ſome of the firſt countries broke up. Neither moraſſes nor heaths interrupt the agriculture, which is carried on with great induſtry, from the banks of the river to a great diſtance up the country. Whilſt many caſtles and cities, built in other parts of Germany, in the times of Charlemagne and his ſucceſſors, particularly under Henry the Firſt, have been deſtroyed, thoſe which were built in this country not only remain, but ſeveral freſh ones have been added to them.

It is certainly true, that the natural fruitfulneſs of the country, and the facility of exportation by the Rhine, contributes in a great degree to this; but it is alſo owing to the nature of the government. In the three eccleſiaſtical electorates, they know nothing of the heavy taxes under which the ſubjects of the temporal princes ſo heavily groan. They have raiſed the cuſtoms very little. No ſpecies of ſlavery is known here. There is no need of heavy taxes to portion out princeſſes. They have no overgrown armies,

nor

nor do they ſell the ſons of their farmers to foreign powers, nor have they taken any part in the civil or foreign diſturbances of Germany. From all this it follows, that though they do not encourage arts and manufactures ſo much as they might do, agriculture has been carried to a height amongſt them, which it has not reached in any other part of Germany. So true it is, that nature will do of herſelf all that laws and acts of parliament can produce, as ſoon as you remove the impediments that ſtand in the way.

The foreſt of ſhips in the port, and the numerous church ſteeples, give Cologne a very magnificent appearance at a diſtance; but it all vaniſhes as ſoon as you ſet foot within the gates. The ſtreets and the inhabitants are alike dark and ugly. I had ſcarce made my entry, when I met with an event, which gave me no very high idea of the police of the place. On my landing from the veſſel, they ſent a ſoldier with me to the inn, to ſearch my baggage; but we were hardly alone, when he told me how old he was, what a trouble it would be for him to go to the inn, and in ſhort offered to let me go where I pleaſed, provided I would give him a few ſtivers. This I eaſily complied with; but I had hardly got rid of him, when a troop of beggars aſſailed me, and followed me quite to the inn. Here I met with another ſpe-

cimen of the manners. The hoſteſs was bargaining with a dirty monk to ſay a maſs for her. He aſked fourteen ſtivers, and ſhe would give him only twelve. At length, when they had ſtruck their bargain, and the prieſt was gone his way, there came another, who had overheard all that had paſſed, and offered the hoſteſs, if ſhe would be off, to ſay a maſs for ten ſtivers. By the next poſt you ſhall hear more from this city, which has an extraordinary appearance throughout.

LETTER LXVII.

Cologne.

COLOGNE, brother, is in every reſpect the ugliеſt town in all Germany; there is not a ſingle building worth ſeeing within its walls, which are nine miles in circumference; moſt of the houſes are falling to the ground; a great part of them ſtand quite empty; and as to the population, I cannot give you a better idea of it, than by aſſuring you, upon my honour, that my landlord, an officer of the city, with whom I have taken up my abode for two months, pays only fifty guilders a year for a very handſome, large houſe, with a court, ſtables, and a large garden, in one of the beſt ſtreets in the city. Round

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the walls, which encloſe the whole domain of the ſtate, there are ſome hundred farm houſes, which produce all the greens, together with as much butter, cheeſe, and milk, as is uſed in the city. In many ſtreets there is dung laying before the houſes on each ſide. Many are ſo empty, that you may walk in them for an hour, without ſeeing a ſingle human creature. The great ſquare, or place, however, would, from its ſize and the beautiful rows of lime trees in it, be one of the moſt magnificent in the world, if it was not darkened by the half-fallen buildings about it.

A third part of the inhabitants are privileged beggars, who form here a regular corporation: this is no ſatire, as you may think it, but the ſober truth; they ſit upon rows of ſtools placed in every church, and take precedence according to their ſeniority: when the eldeſt dies, his next neighbour takes his place. The old people, who belong to the fraternity, conſider a place upon theſe ſtools, as a proviſion for a ſon, or marriage-portion for a daughter. Many of them have ſtools belonging to them in ſeveral churches, which they viſit alternately, on the days of the moſt brilliant feſtivals, and divide amongſt their heirs when they die. On the few days of the year on which there are no feſtivals, they diſperſe about the city, and moleſt the paſ-

ſengers,

ſengers, with an inſolence and rudeneſs not to be conceived.

Another third of the inhabitants are eccleſiaſtics. There are thirty-nine nunneries in this place, above twenty convents for men, and more than twelve hoſpitals; beſides theſe, the place is crouded with a motley race of men, which are called Abbés; but theſe are not as they are with us, the powdered ſmirking eccleſiaſtical beaux, who make parties with the ladies, and attend at their levees; but rough, dirty clowns, beſmeared all over with tobacco, who play for pence with the peaſants in public ale-houſes; or after having ſaid maſs in the morning, run of errands, clean ſhoes, or are porters, for the reſt of the day. I have never ſeen the church in ſo contemptible a ſtate as it is here. There are ſeveral eccleſiaſtics who do not themſelves know what they are. I am acquainted with a canon, who makes 2000 guilders a year of his ſtall; but has aſſured me himſelf, that he has neither ſaid maſs, nor ſeen his church, for a twelvemonth. I met another of them in a coffee-houſe, kept by a young woman, whom he loved, but who was likewiſe courted by a merchant's clerk. The rivals having engaged in a game at billiards, from words proceeded to blows, until the prebend was laid fairly under the table.

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When we had with ſome difficulty made peace, the clerk went his way, and now there followed another extraordinary ſcene. The canon had a pretty young man with him, whom he had lodged and boarded for ſome time. He took it ſo ill that this toad-eater had not taken his part, that after reproaching him with the favours he had conferred on him, he renounced his friendſhip before us all. The part of our abbés is played here by theſe regular canons, the Antonites, and the prieſts of the order of Malta. You ſee them about the ladies in all the great houſes. As to the nuns, there are four of them big with child at preſent, and ſix are immured, for not having underſtood the art of not being with child. In the firſt days of my abode here, the ſon of a gentleman, to whom I was recommended, took me with him to a nunnery to viſit his ſiſter. We found her with another friend in the ſick room, where they are allowed to receive viſits. In the firſt quarter of an hour of the viſit, I diſcovered that my friend was not come to ſee his ſiſter, and that her friend's diſorder was not very dangerous. I found the ſiſter agreeable enough, not to be tired of her, whilſt the brother was entertained by the friend. The next week the ſiſter was ill, and the friend attended her to the hoſpital; ſhe gratefully

fully returned the favour the week after, and I ſoon found that, let me ſtay here as long as I pleaſed, we ſhould have viſits to make every week, till the whole circle of diſeaſes had been gone through by the nuns.

The want of proper government is the cauſe of the illimited freedom, which is enjoyed by the eccleſiaſtics of this place. They live in the greateſt anarchy; for though they are properly ſubject to the controul of the archbiſhop of Cologne, the magiſtracy of the place is jealous of the archbiſhop's power, and will ſuffer none of his orders relating to diſcipline to be carried into execution. Thus between the contention of the two powers, poor diſcipline goes to the ground.

The laſt third of the inhabitants conſiſts of ſome Patrician families, and of the merchants and mechanics, on whom the other two parts live. Upon the whole, Cologne is at leaſt a century behind the reſt of Germany, Bavaria itſelf not excepted. Bigotry, ill-manners, clowniſhneſs, ſlothfulneſs, are viſible every where, and the ſpeech, dreſs, furniture of the houſes, every thing, in ſhort, is ſo different from what is ſeen in the reſt of Germany, that you conceive yourſelf in the middle of a colony of ſtrangers. I do not mean to ſay there are no exceptions, for I have been in ſome houſes, the maſters of which are diſtinguiſhed for their taſte and elegant

elegant manner of living; but the exceptions are indeed very few.

It is owing to the government of the country, that this city is ſo far behind the other ſtates of Germany. Together with the hatred of innovation common to all republics, and uſual impatience and weakneſs of the magiſtrate, the abſurd corporation ſyſtem prevails here with more force than in any other of the free imperial cities. I will only give you one inſtance, by which you will ſee how impoſſible it is for this town ever to go on improving as the reſt of Germany has done. A few years ſince there ſettled here a baker from the Palatinate, who, from the circumſtance of the other bakers baking ſuch bread as only an inhabitant of Cologne could eat, ſoon drove a thriving trade. Jealouſy of his good fortune ſoon brought his brethren of the company to his houſe, and they pulled down his oven. The affair was carried into a court of juſtice. On the day it was to be determined, not only the company of bakers, but the other companies of barbers, taylors, ſhoemakers, &c. aſſembled round the court-houſe, and ſwore they would put an end to the magiſtrates and magiſtracy together, if, by their licentious decree, they allowed any man to bake better bread than the other gentlemen of the corps. The magiſtracy knew its men, who

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on a former occaſion had huſtled ſome of them in the church-yard; and admoniſhed by the precedent, they made this ſpirited decree:——"That "whereas the audacious baker had taken upon "him to bake bread, ſuch as the reſt of the "corporation did not bake, he ſhould build up his "oven again at his own expence, and, for the "future, be cautious only to bake ſuch bread "as the town had been wont to feed upon."

The obſtinacy with which the ſeveral corporations of the place defend their privileges, the rudeneſs of the common people, which ſome love to decorate with the name of liberty, and the immoderate and unreſtrained licentiouſneſs which obtains univerſally, render Cologne very deſerving of the name of Little London, by which ſome of its inhabitants love to diſtinguiſh it. Like the great London, it is remarkable for the pride of the common people, and the inſolence with which they treat ſtrangers. Having behaved rather impertinently to their neighbours, the Elector of Cologne, and the Elector Palatine, an attempt was made to reform them in the moſt effectual way, by cutting off their proviſions. The magiſtracy immediately diſpatched meſſengers to the emperor, to acquaint him that they were upon the point of being ſtarved to death; and in the mean time, the burghers rubbed up their

their old ſwords, and aſſembling in crowds in the alehouſes, and other public places of the city, denounced death and vengeance on the elector. The emperor, out of pity, had the interdict taken off; and ever ſince, the populace have exclaimed,—"We have brought the elector to reaſon: he was apprized of our intended "march, and has acted very wiſely, in not allowing matters to come to extremities!" Preciſely in the ſtyle of the *canaille* of London.

A governing burgomaſter of Cologne (there are ſix of them, two of which govern every year) holds nearly the ſame ſtate as the lord-mayor of London. He wears a Roman toga, half black, half purple, a large Spaniſh hat, Spaniſh breeches, waiſtcoat, &c. He has alſo his lictors, who carry the faſces before him, when he appears in his public character. In the laſt war, one of our regiments deſired to march through the city; but it was oppoſed, on the pretence that the King of Pruſſia was their liege lord, in his capacity of Duke of Cleves, and Count of the Mark; and they told the colonel, who deſired to have the gate opened to him, that they were determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. It was in vain for him to remonſtrate, that he was conducting auxiliary troops to the ſervice of the emperor, their ſovereign lord. The gates were

kept ſhut, and nothing leſs than the pleaſure of having their houſes burned about their ears would content the mob of the place. However, when the cannon was planted, and ready to fire, the council thought better of it, and, to the great mortification of the populace, determined to permit the paſſage. The commandant, as ſoon as he had got in, immediately made the beſt of his way to the hall, to remonſtrate with the mayor, whom he found, in all the inſignia of majeſty, on his throne, encompaſſed with his lictors. As theſe, however, did not prevent a few remarks from being made, the magiſtrate immediately drew up, and ordering the lictors to raiſe the faſces, aſked the colonel, "Whether he had a "proper conception of the dignity of a Roman "burgomaſter? Or whether he knew, that he "repreſented the majeſty of the Roman Cæſars, "and had only opened the door to him out of "good will?" The officer, who had drawn up *his* troops, with their bayonets fixed and firelocks primed, in the grand ſquare, and was in full poſſeſſion of the city, could not abſtain from laughing; but as he already had the door in his hand, the only anſwer he made was, "You are "not quite right in your head!"

The want of all police, a want which in this town conſtitutes the eſſence of liberty, brings hither from

from the Upper Rhine, Weſtphalia, the Imperial Netherlands, France, and Holland, vaſt numbers of people who chooſe to live incognito. There are very good ſocieties to be met with, made up of the better ſort of theſe adventurers, numerous Pruſſian and Imperial officers, the canons belonging to the foundations of the place, ſome patricians, and proteſtant merchants. The briſk navigation, particularly of the Dutch, for which this is the ſtaple, which they dare not paſs by, the low price of all the neceſſaries of life, the neighbourhood of Bonn, the total abſence of the inſupportable court airs and inſolence of the nobleſſe, which you meet with almoſt in every other city, the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and the chearfulneſs of the inhabitants of the neighbouring electorate and dutchy of Berg, renders this a very agreeable abode to thoſe who wiſh to mix ſomewhat of the country with the city life, notwithſtanding the diſagreeable manners of the majority. This ſerves the philoſophical obſerver for matter of perpetual remarks, which he cannot make ſo eaſily any where elſe. Indeed, all the characters of middling life are here more ſtrongly marked than in any other place I have ever been in.

Theſe moroſe and heavy people are equllay diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of Europe, for their religious as well as for their political ſuperſtitions.

The republican pride gives a colouring to every thing done here, which cannot but highly intereſt a friend of humanity, were it only to make him laugh; which, you know, was the uſe which Democritus of Abdera made of his fellow-citizens, to the no ſmall advantage of his lungs.

The ſuperſtition of this little London ſurpaſſes every thing of the kind you can imagine. They are not contented here with ſingle ſaints, but muſt have whole armies of them. A few days ſince, I paid a viſit to the church of St. Urſula, where ſhe lays, with her 11000 virgins. The walls and floor of the church are filled with coffins and bones. Though, as this holy princeſs lived in the time of the heptarchy, it be ſomewhat difficult to conceive how ſhe could get together 11000 virgins in her father's dominions, a man who ſhould attempt here to ſubtract a ſingle one from the number, would run a very great chance of being knocked on the head. Wonderful as this ſtory is in itſelf, other wonders are brought in confirmation of it. Amongſt the reſt, there is a monument which has a ſmall coffin encloſed in it, and on which the following words are written:—"A natural child was buri-"ed in this church with the virgins; but in-"as he was, they would not ſuffer him to r-

" bones with theirs, but drove him out again, " and there was a neceſſity of burying him above " ground." If you are not thoroughly verſed in the hiſtory of theſe ladies, you will be, perhaps, glad to hear that authors do not quite agree in their accounts of them. The Italian legendaries, a jealous race of curs, where foreign miracles are concerned, think there is a zero too much in the inſcription; others, that the princeſs had a maid of honour called Undecimilla, who by ſome blundering monks was changed into eleven thouſand. Here alſo lies interred in a church which bears his name, Saint Gereon, (not Geryon) with 1200 or 12000 (for they do not ſtand for a cypher here in reckoning up ſaints) of his ſoldiers. One of the three Hermans who are the ſubject of a wretched popular novel, alſo works wonders upon wonders here. Almoſt every one of the 200 churches of this place has ſome male or female ſaint belonging to it, on which the monks and beggars live. What delighted me moſt in this way, were two wooden horſes painted white, which are looking out of a window in an old building of the new ſquare. The hiſtory of this monument was given me in the following terms: " A wealthy young woman was for- " merly buried from this houſe, with very rich " ornaments, which the grave-digger having

" obſerved, he came in the night to rob the
" corpſe; hardly had the coffin been open-
" when the woman ſtood up, and ſeizing the lan-
" tern, which the aſtoniſhed grave-digger drop-
" ped in his fright, walked directly home with
" it; ſhe knocked at the door; the maid came
" to the window, and aſked who was there.
" Your miſtreſs, anſwered the other. The girl
" immediately ran with the meſſage to her
" maſter, who not being perhaps pleaſed to hear
" that his wife was come back again, cried out,
' It is as impoſſible for it to be my wife, as for
' the two horſes to come out of the ſtables,
' run up into the garrets, and look out of the
' window.' No ſooner ſaid than done; the
" two nags immediately trotted up ſtairs,
" and have remained at the window to this day."
The poor man had no remedy but to take back his wife, who lived ſeven years with him after that, and wove a great quantity of linen, which, together with a ſet of paintings, exhibiting the whole ſtory, is ſtill to be ſeen in the neighbouring church. Unfortunately for the ſtory, it is told with preciſely the ſame circumſtances in two other parts of Germany, only the Cologneſe, who are in every thing diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the ſons of men, have added the viſible and perpetual monument of the two horſes,

horſes; but this city is very rich in fables of this kind.

It is not here as in the other dark parts of Germany, where ſmall tales only ſerve for the amuſement of the idle; no, no, the Cologneſe are in downright ſerious earneſt; they conſider their country as the ſpecial habitation of ſaints, and the earth itſelf as holy, and are equally ready to become martyrs for the truth of the propoſitions, or to make martyrs of any who doubt them.

Their bilious humour leads them to defend the whole with a degree of heat that almoſt turns their heads: whereas, in the other parts of Germany, there is ſomething romantic in all the ſtories of the ſaints, which correſponds with the jovial turn of the people; ſo every thing of the ſort told here, is melancholy, cruel, or nonſenſical, like the relators.

The prieſts of the place, eſpecially the monks, carry no better ſtories than theſe with them into their pulpits; nay, ſome of my friends have aſſured me, that the whole morality of the confeſſors reſts upon them; thus, if a young man comes to confeſs an affair of gallantry, he is immediately told, "that the devil having caught "a young man and young woman in bed toge-"ther, wrung off the neck of the one, and plung-"ed the other into a lake nine times hotter than

"burning pitch." Of all the ſermons I heard here, the certain medium by which to judge of the morals of a people, there was only one, by a Carmelite, that was not flat nonſenſe.

A neceſſary conſequence of all this is, that the manners are more corrupted here than in any other place under the ſun. The churches themſelves are made places of rendezvous, where every kind of licentiouſneſs is in part agreed upon, and in part carried into effect.

The evening ſervices of the monks are like the evening walks in the ſuburbs of Vienna, and every alehouſe round the place teems with adultery and fornication. If you happen to go into them on a holiday, you will commonly find the viſitors in ſuch a ſtate of drunkenneſs, as exactly reminds you of the old Germans and Scythians.

LETTER LXVIII.

Cologne.

HERETOFORE Cologne counted 30,000 men bearing arms, and in the twelfth century it ſtood a ſiege againſt the whole empire united. Her commerce was ſo flouriſhing, that ſhe was at the head of the Hans cities of the

the third order. Indeed, when we conſider the many circumſtances favourable to it, ſuch as the ſituation on one of the moſt navigable rivers in the world, the ſhores of which are covered with inhabitants; the ſtaple, the republican form of government, the admirable roads which connect it with all Germany, and various other circumſtances; the greateſt wonder of all the wonders of this wonderful city, is how it can poſſibly have contrived to fall ſo low: at preſent it does not contain more than 25,000 ſouls. Their manufactures are low. Save a ſingle one of tobacco, a few inſignificant laces, and the pins which are made by the wives and daughters of the poor people, all ſpirit of induſtry is effectually ſuppreſſed by monkery, and the diſſolution of manners inſeparable from it. Thoſe who paſs for merchants are only brokers and commiſſioners, for thoſe of Francfort, Nurenburg, Augſburgh, Straſburgh, Switzerland, and other countries. Excepting a few ſmall bankers, there are hardly above 10 or 12 houſes, that have any thing like a ſolid commerce; the object of theſe are drugs, from the ſale of which a great deal of money is annually brought into Germany; wine, wrought and unwrought iron, from the mines of Naſſau, which are the moſt famous for the production of this metal, after thoſe of Styria and Carinthia; wood from the

Upper Rhine, the Maine, and the Neckar, and a few other leſs important articles. The greater part too of theſe very few merchants is made up of French and Italians, who far ſurpaſs the natives in underſtanding, induſtry, and frugality, and make up their fortunes on this never-failing capital. The moſt ſolid commerce of all is in the hands of ſome dozens of proteſtants, who can neither obtain the privileges of citizens, nor yet the liberty to ſerve God in their own way; they go to church at Muhlheim, a pretty town in the Palatinate, at ſix miles diſtance. Beſides the manufactures they are engaged in here, they have concerns in ſeveral others in the Pruſſian territory, and the Palatinate.

When a ſtranger objects to the people of Cologne, their intolerance towards the moſt uſeful part of the inhabitants of their city; when he compares the ſtupidity, barbarity, debauchery, and poverty of the citizens of the place, with the knowledge, induſtry, frugality, and riches of the foreigners, they are not at all affected with the juſtice of theſe remarks, but turn them to their own advantage in the following manner: "Theſe heretics," ſay they, "are loſt ſouls; their "hearts are wrapt up in worldly poſſeſſions, "which God vouchſafes them in order to ren-"der their damnation the greater. God does "evidently

" evidently reprobated the rich in his holy writ, " and their riches are the fagots which in another " world will be piled up to burn them!" With opinions like theſe, which the monks hold forth from every pulpit, it is not to be wondered at, if the third part of the inhabitants of the city are beggars.

The numerous ſhips which are always to be found in the ports of this city exhibit the moſt diſgraceful inſtance of the manners of the people. There is hardly a river in Europe which is navigated ſo high from its ſource as the Rhine is in this place; the quay, which is above a mile long, is almoſt always filled with ſhips; but the goods on board, which according to the laws of the ſtaple, ſhould be loaded only on ſhips belonging to Cologne or Mentz, almoſt all belong to foreign merchants; of theſe the Dutch ſhips are moſt conſiderable; they are diſtinguiſhed by the kind of magnificence and cleanlineſs peculiar to this people: they are at leaſt one third longer than our common merchant ſhips of two maſts, and carry from 150 to 180 tons; they are drawn by horſes, and can alſo occaſionally uſe their ſails at the ſame time; nor, in proportion to their freight, do they want above half the number of horſes which are uſed in the navigation of the Danube from the Ulm to Vienna. The proprietors of theſe (for a river) immenſe veſſels commonly

monly live on board, even when they are at Amſterdam or Rotterdam; to which laſt city, unfavourable as their veſſels are for a ſea navigation, on account of their length, ſmall height and breadth, they often ſail through the Texel when the wind is favourable. As long as they lie in this port, they treat their friends with all kinds of foreign wines, and a variety of refreſhments, after the Dutch manner. I have had many a jolly party in ſuch veſſels, where we have danced down the night. The ſhips of this place, and thoſe from Mentz, which take goods in here for the Upper Rhine, are much ſmaller than the Dutch ones. Many of theſe, however, are large enough to load 120 tons, or as much as a common two-maſt ſhip. All theſe ſhips are built of oak, and according to the principles of ſhips which go to ſea, only with this difference, that their length is greater in proportion to their depth or breadth.

Nothing diſplays the conſtitution of the German empire in a better light, than the navigation of the Rhine. Every prince, ſo far as his domain on the banks reaches, conſiders the ſhips that go by as the veſſels of foreigners, and loads them, without diſtinction, with almoſt intolerable taxes. They do not in the leaſt conſider, whether the commodities which paſs by are the produce of Germany or other

tries, and whether the empire will gain or loſe by them. On the contrary, ſome of the articles exported from Germany, ſuch as wine, wood, &c. have greater taxes laid upon them, in proportion to their intrinſic value, than any foreign ware. Flouriſhing as the banks of the Rhine now are, they would be ſtill much richer if they belonged only to one maſter, and were governed according to the principles of a ſound policy; as things now are, the exports of the country are viſibly cramped by the numerous cuſtom-houſe duties, ſo as to make it almoſt incredible how navigation can be ſo great as it is.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Germany was approaching near to the anarchy in which it in fact ſtill continues, the princes of the Rhine, particularly the eccleſiaſtical ones, either by force or flattery, compelled the Emperor to give them ſo many cuſtoms as to make every city a cuſtom-houſe: originally all the cuſtoms belonged to the Emperors, but their want of men, money, and other ſervices, compelled them to part with moſt of them to purchaſe friends. Whilſt the anarchy laſted, every one took by force, what was not given him by free will; and at the peace, they found means to preſerve themſelves in the poſſeſſion of what they had ſtole. The Emperor Albert had the idea

idea of endeavouring to recover them, but he was not ſufficiently powerful for the undertaking.

In the ſmall diſtrict between Mentz and Coblentz, which, with the windings of the river, hardly makes twenty-ſeven miles, you don't pay leſs than nine tolls. Between Holland and Coblentz there are at leaſt ſixteen. Every one of theſe ſeldom produces leſs than twenty-five thouſand, and commonly thirty-thouſand guilders a year. In this eſtimate I do not comprehend a number of articles which pay toll in ſpecie, and make a part of the pay of the toll-gatherers. An old Engliſh writer has qualified theſe tolls of the German princes, which evidently contribute to the ruin of their country, with the name of an incomprehenſible fury. It is, indeed, a very different method of proceeding, from that of a government, which, inſtead of putting clogs on the exports of the commodities of the country, gives premiums for them. It likewiſe often happens, that the temporary revenge of the neighbouring princes, occaſioned theſe unpatriotic tributes to be carried much higher than the ſettled eſtimate. When the Elector Palatine made it difficult for the city of Mentz to export the corn of his country, the archbiſhop endeavoured to revenge himſelf, by raiſing the toll of the

of the Palatinate, the tobacco, and the other productions. On the other hand the Elector Palatine had repriſals made by his toll on the Lower Rhine, and revenged himſelf on the Mentz wines, which were carried to Holland. Every ſpecies of chicanery, which hoſtile powers can uſe towards each other, was made uſe of on this occaſion. The town of Treves poſſeſſes the ſtaple privilege on the Moſelle; there have been inſtances of this ſtaple being moved from one place to another, in the ſame principality, in order to hurt the ſtaples of Mentz and Cologne. The elector of Treves took it into his head to move his ſtaple from Treves to Coblentz, where it was far more profitable to himſelf, but infinitely prejudicial to the navigation on the Rhine, and the exports from Holland. Fortunately the ſtrong oppoſition he met with from the court of Vienna did not allow him to carry his project into execution. The eternal diſputes between theſe princes has occaſioned ſeveral congreſſes, in which our court has been forced to take a part, on account of Alſatia, which ſuffers infinitely by them. Every thing, however, that was agreed upon, only ſerved for a new bone of contention; and they muſt be ſuffered to cuff each other, till ſome ſtronger power ariſe, and cuff them all to pieces. A great revolution awaits theſe countries, when the archduke Maximilian is come to the government

of Cologne, and Munſter; a revolution by which, happen what may, it is hardly poſſible that the country ſhould loſe.

The preſent government of the archbiſhoprick of Cologne, and the biſhoprick of Munſter, is without a doubt, the moſt active, and moſt enlightened of all the eccleſiaſtical governments of Germany. The miniſtry of the court of Bonn is excellently compoſed; and the biſhoprick of Munſter, beſides the effect which their influence has on it, is happy in the patriotiſm of the ſeveral members who compoſe the aſſemblies of its ſtates. The eccleſiaſtics of both the countries are a moſt ſtriking contraſt to thoſe of the city of Cologne, for their great learning, and good manners. The cabinet of Bonn is ſingularly happy in the eſtabliſhment of ſeminaries of education, the improvement of agriculture, and induſtry, and the extirpation of every ſpecies of monkery. The electorate of Cologne is worth about a million of Rheniſh guilders a year, or about a hundred thouſand pounds, and that of Munſter about a million, two hundred thouſand guilders. With theſe two great principalities, the archduke will alſo have the biſhoprick of Paderborne, worth about ſix hundred thouſand guilders, or ſix thouſand pounds a year. Some perſons are of opinion that even this will not be thought ſufficient, but that the Emperor has ſo managed his matters, with

with the chapter of Liege, that forgetful of its ancient jealouſies, it will likewiſe chooſe the archduke for its archbiſhop, on the death of the preſent incumbent. This biſhoprick brings in at leaſt one million, two hundred thouſand guilders, the greateſt part of which, however, like that of Munſter, goes into the cheſt of the ſtates, the lock and keys of which, the prince's fingers are not ſuffered to touch. The prince with his income as maſter of the Teutonic order, which amounts to at leaſt four hundred thouſand guilders, will have a revenue of four millions, four hundred thouſand guilders, which will make him the moſt powerful eccleſiaſtical prince in Germany. The ſenſe of this made the Pruſſian court, whoſe dominions in Weſtphalia will be in great jeopardy by this arrangement, make ſtrong remonſtrances at Bonn, and Munſter, againſt the nomination of a coadjutor, but they were without effect. No doubt, but this elevation of a prince of the houſe of Auſtria will be of fatal conſequence to the balance of power of the empire. A branch of ſuch a houſe, propped as it will be with all the power of the Low Countries, and ſituated amidſt a number of ſmall principalities, partly occupied by the creatures of this houſe, would not only be very formidable to the greateſt part of the empire, but alſo, under peculiar circumſtances, to Holland itſelf. It would be able, eſpecially if ſupported by

by ſome ſubſidies from Vienna, to keep on foot an army of twenty thouſand men, to which if the imperial troops in the Netherlands were to be joined, there would be an army of near ſixty thouſand, ready to ſpread terror and deſolation far and near. In former times, a biſhop of Munſter alone had it in his power to make Holland tremble.

LETTER LXIX.

Amſterdam.

I Had intended to go from Cologne to Holland by the Rhine, and promiſed myſelf great pleaſure from the journey, but the King of Pruſſia forbad the ſport; he ſuffers nobody to go by water through the territory of Cleves, in order not to hurt his poſts by land, which are farmed. You are obliged to take the poſts on the frontiers, or at leaſt to pay certain taxes, if you have a carriage of your own. "This," ſaid I to ſome ſailors of Rotterdam who told me of it, "this," ſaid I, "is againſt the law of nature, "againſt the law of nations, againſt the law of "hoſpitality, and againſt all the laws in the "world." "We have known that," anſwered they, "long ago."

As being prevented from going by water, I determined to ſee as much of the country as was poſſible by land, and for this purpoſe partly on horſeback, partly on foot, and partly in the carriages of the country, I wandered over the ſeveral parts of Weſtphalia belonging to the king of Pruſſia and the elector Palatine, entirely

indifferent where the viſit ſhall carry me, and following only the direction of my noſe.

The reward however was well worth the trouble I took for it, for the degree of cultivation and riches far exceeded all ideas I had formed of them, and quite aſtoniſhed me. All the cities and villages abound in tradeſpeople. Muhlheim, Elberfeld, Solingen, Sorſt, Ham, Duiſburg, Meurs, Weſel, Cleve, and ſome other cities, have capital manufactures in them. They make a great number of linens and woollens, ſupply almoſt all the country of the Upper Rhine, Suabia, and Franconia, with white threads: they have beſides manufactures of handkerchiefs, ſilks, and cottons; they prepare ſteel and iron at Solingen, better than in any other part of Europe, England alone excepted. Their commerce extends all over the Netherlands, part of Franconia, and the whole empire.

This wonderful induſtry, united to the natural fertility of the country, renders this one of the richeſt, and moſt remarkable parts of Germany; a gentle adminiſtration, and a ſecurity againſt deſpotiſm, derived from the ſtates of the country, contribute not a little to the happineſs which obtains. The inhabitants are chearful, hoſpitable, and well mannered; they may be quoted as a new

new inſtance to be added to the numberleſs ones I have already given, of the little influence which religion has over the civil condition of men, when not attended with other local circumſtances. Though the proteſtants in this circle are far from being ſo enlightened, or ſo tolerant, as thoſe of their perſuaſions in other countries, and though they are much more addicted to ſenſual enjoyments than their brethren of other places, they are, notwithſtanding, the moſt induſtrious people, and the beſt ſubjects that can be found; nor does the bigotry of the catholics hurt the manufacture and agriculture of the country, their education only directing it to ſuch objects, as have no connection with manners, or civil ſociety. Every thing therefore in my opinion depends upon the habits amidſt the which men grow up. When once induſtry is habitual to a people, the moſt abject ſuperſtitions will have no influence on their temporal felicity; the prieſts themſelves will render their ſermons conformable to the manners of the country, nor will the monkiſh theoriſts themſelves be able to overturn them. There are as many legends in this country, as in Cologne, nor are the people leſs fond of proceſſions, and pilgrimages, and yet they are infinitely more induſtrious, more frugal, and more wealthy

than at Cologne. It is neither therefore the fault of the religion, or ſuperſtition, but of the government alone, that the people of Cologne are ſo debauched, and that the prieſts of the place openly recommend debauchery, as a looſe education has made their religion prejudicial to them. The corporation ſyſtem, which more activity and cleverneſs would have made a bleſſing to the country, is become the curſe of it. In a word, police, government, and executive juſtice are ſubject under a weak adminiſtration to the ſame abuſes as government, nor is it the religion itſelf, but the abuſes of it, which make it ever prejudicial to the ſtate.

The upper part of Weſtphalia, which lies at a greater diſtance from the Rhine, is not ſo well cultivated, and by nature much leſs productive, than the country I am now ſpeaking of: it is occupied by many heaths, and moraſſes, which for the moſt part produce only turf, and in the better places dyers-wood. Some parts of the country, ſuch as part of the dutchy of Minden, and marquiſate of Tecklenburg, are remarkably well peopled, but this is compenſated by the ſtriking depopulation of ſome others; many parts, for inſtance, of the biſhopricks of Munſter, Oſnaburg, and Paderborn, the marquiſate of Beithlein, and ſome domains in the electorate of Hanover.

With

With all this, this part of Weſtphalia is the proper country of hemp and flax, which are ſome of the richeſt products of this country. The greateſt part of the hemp and flax, which is manufactured in the parts of Weſtphalia about the Rhine, Holland, the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the French Netherlands, comes from this part of the country. Beſides this, there is a great part exported raw to England, Spain, Portugal, and America. Though theſe productions are found in great plenty in the other parts of Germany, particularly in the electorate of Hanover, the circle of Lower Saxony, Heſſe, Waldeck, and Fulde, I queſtion much, whether all the flax and hemp of the other parts of Germany, taken together, are equivalent to the quantity found here. According to the eſtimate of an intelligent friend of mine who lives at Munſter, the annual exports of raw and ſpun flax and hemp, out of the ſingle circle of Weſtphalia, amount to five millions of Rheniſh guilders. I do not take into this account, the numerous manufactories of theſe materials, which are conſumed in the parts of the circle of Weſtphalia, about the Rhine. All the flax and hemp, raw and worked, exported out of all Weſtphalia, taken together, muſt at leaſt be eſtimated at ſeven million of guilders, or 700,000 pounds.—

The fineſt flax and hemp grows in the territory of Bielefeld and Kerooſt. It almoſt reſembles ſilk.

When you go out of Weſtphalia, and enter the territory of Holland, it appears to you as going out of a pig-ſty into a fine garden. The country round Nimeguen eſpecially is a ſtriking contraſt to what you ſee in Weſtphalia. I ſhall ſay nothing to you of the magnificence, ſymmetry, and cleanlineſs of the Dutch cities, nor of the numerous and expenſive canals, the ſides of which are for the moſt part planted with fine rows of trees, nor of the numerous gardens. There are deſcriptions of all theſe things in abundance. This magnificence, however, and regularity is tireſome in the end. I at leaſt cannot ſtand the tedious uniformity of this country and its inhabitants. All the cities, villages, roads, and canals, are ſo ſimilar, that they appear copies of the ſelf ſame individual picture. The country indeed is only made to take a walk through; and, without buſineſs, no man of taſte will ſtay in it long. With reſpect to real value alſo, it is only a frogged out beggar parading about in a rich gown which he has ſtolen. The Palatinate, which is not more than one fifth of Holland, is of infinitely more natural value.

The

The inhabitants, likewiſe, taken in general, are only well dreſſed beggars; their riches do not belong to them, for they enjoy them not; they are only the guardians of their money. When you are invited to dinner by a man of middling rank, the magnificence of the diſhes, the cleanlineſs of the room you dine in, and the expenſiveneſs of the furniture, make you expect a princely meal; but when the diſhes are ſet on, you find no more, nor leſs, than you would have at the table of a good Weſtphalia peaſant. All the merchants paſs the whole week in their counting-houſes, where they gorge themſelves with tea. They are ſo intent upon their buſineſs, and ſo entirely taken up with their ſpeculations, that you may puſh their guts out almoſt without diſturbing them. On Saturdays they go to their expenſive gardens, where they ſpend the whole of the Sunday, and enjoy themſelves juſt as they do in their counting-houſes. I had occaſion to viſit one of them in his garden; he was taken up all the afternoon, in gathering ſallad for his ſupper. Another ſhut himſelf up, and ſpent the whole Sunday in killing flies in his ſummer-houſe. Theſe, and ſmoking tobacco, are their common amuſements in their hours of recreation. When they are in company, they ſit as if they were pinned to their chairs, gape at each other, and every quarter of an hour converſe on the

news of the day, which, of all the news publiſhed in Europe, is the moſt piteous. This is the quinteſſence of *political* nonſenſe; and their eccleſiaſticks, who, to the ſhame of the reformation, are greater monks than the German capuchins, will give you the quinteſſence of the *ſpiritual*. Were it not for the ſtrangers, eſpecially the officers, and ſome of the nobility who have been poliſhed by their voyages, there would not be a tolerable ſociety to be met with throughout all Holland.

Their government, and police, is as extraordinary as the country, and every thing bears a tint of the inconverſible melancholy and niggardly humour of the natives. It is received as a common opinion here, that no diſh of fiſh, which you know is the moſt ordinary produce of the country, is brought to table, which has not been paid for once to the ſeller, and ſix times to the ſtate. The ſpirit of the inhabitants, which revolts at every idea of ſacrifice to the public good, compels the magiſtrate to lay theſe heavy impoſts upon the firſt neceſſaries of life. It is theſe heavy charges, as well as the aſtoniſhing tranquillity of the inhabitants, which are the cauſes of the miſerable living of this country. I will only give you one ſpecimen of their police, which extraordinary enough. A ſtranger, who

who knows nothing of laws, and the cuſtoms of the country, happens to ſend his ſervant to a wine-merchant to buy a bottle of wine; the merchant gives it the man, without telling him a word of his danger; the ſervant carries the bottle home open in his hand; he is met by a conſtable, and aſked where he bought it, which the other tells without difficulty; but no ſooner has he done ſo, then he is arreſted, and, in due proceſs of time, tried, and baniſhed the country. Thus the poor ſervant alone ſuffers, and neither the maſter who ſent him, nor the merchant who ſold the wine in retail, which, according to law, ought only to have been done by thoſe who keep taverns, are at all puniſhed.

LETTER

LETTER LXX.

Amſterdam.

THIS, dear brother, according to the generally received opinion, frogs-ſtolen country is originally nothing more than ſand, brought down by the Rhine from Switzerland, and the upper parts of Germany; and ſea mud, which the north and weſt winds have cauſed the waves to bring up. There is in no part of it any ſolid earth, and as early as on the borders of the dutchy of Cleves, you find the moſt evident marks of this country's having been formed like the Ægyptian Delta, with this difference only, that the Nile yields a moſt fruitful ſoil; whereas, the Rhine carries nothing with it, but a hard ſand. Parts of Brabant and Flanders have been formed in like manner by the Scheld, the Maeſe, and ſome other rivers: there are notorious proofs of this. At a great diſtance from the coaſt, in Flanders, you find under the good earth, dry ſand, and under this again, large layers of good earth, as if the rivers and ſea had by turns depoſited their ſand and their mud. The whole

coaſt of Germany is of the ſame kind, as far as the Elbe; throughout all this diſtrict there is no ſolid ground; and as to rocks and hills, nobody thinks of them.

The ſea forms boundaries to herſelf, which ſhe never paſſes, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity. Her playful waves have made the downs which reach from Calais to the Texel, and which protect the land which is in ſome caſe lower than the horizontal ſurface of the ſea, from her devaſtations; but, when a north or north-weſt wind turns her from her natural good humour, into a fit of anger, ſhe overthrows in an inſtant, what, with the help of the neighbouring rivers, ſhe has been building for many centuries.

Even in the time of the Romans, the Y, which reaches from Amſterdam to the Texel, was ſtill ſolid land, watered to the eaſt by the Yſſel, and to the weſt, as ſome imagine, by the Rhine. In ſome tempeſt, the ſea demoliſhed the downs, which extend from the northern coaſt of Friezeland, to the country of the Texel; the rivers, in the mean time, having extended their mouths in the ſand, which was their works, there came at length an extraordinary flood, which raiſed the rivers, and united with them to deſtroy the whole country. Since that time, but particularly ſince the independance of the country,

try, it has been the conſtant care, to reunite theſe ſmall ſtrips of land, which the flood left behind it, with the ſolid land. Theſe ſtrips are commonly only ſand banks, ſome of which have been fenced with dykes, and joined to North Holland; others are embanking every day, as every ſtrip of land, let it be ever ſo barren, is of infinite value to the inhabitants. A ſimilar proceſs has taken place betwixt Groningen and Eaſt Friezeland, by the mouth of the Ems. The great bay of Dollar was originally formed by a powerful flood, ſince which, a great part of the ſea ſwamp has been dammed in, and wonderfully cultivated. But as faſt as they recover land on one ſide, the ſea revenges itſelf by ſpreading on another. The ſea of Haerlem grows wider every day, and threatens to break the dykes betwixt Leyden and Haerlem, and make a perfect iſland of North Holland. In the laſt century the ſea demoliſhed a great part of the iſland in which Dordrecht is ſituated, and ſixty thouſand men periſhed by this accident.

Dreadful as the ſea is to the main land of the Republic, ſhe is ſtill a more formidable enemy to the iſlands which conſtitute the province of Zeeland; but what ſhe executes on the continent by violent ſtorms, ſhe undertakes here by craft and cunning: moſt of theſe iſlands are lower than

than the ſurface of the ſea; the inhabitants have, in conſequence, attempted to ſecure themſelves by very expenſive dykes; theſe dykes conſiſt of large trees, which are joined together with large needles to prevent the kakerlak.

The ſea is perpetually undermining them, and waſhing the earth away from them by degrees; in many places they are already quite naked. This compels the inhabitants to build other walls behind their dams, which expecting the ſame fate, muſt in time leave the whole at the mercy of their enemy.

Nor are the inhabitants of the middle of the country in a better ſituation: The territories about Nimeguen and Arnheim, the moſt beautiful and moſt fruitful in all Holland, will in time be ſubdued by the Rhine. As it depoſits immenſe ſand banks in the middle of the country, in time it will be reſtrained by them in its courſe, and compelled to open itſelf new ways. In many diſtricts about Betuve, the ſand is already ſo high, that at every ſwell the river is driven with a terrible hurricane to the oppoſite ſhore; this will happen till it has finally broke itſelf a new bed, and covered with its waters all that is now ploughed land, or the ſite of villages and hamlets. —*Nunc Rhenus eſt ubi Troja fuit.*—The many

canals, which have been made to receive part of the waters of theſe rivers, are by no means ſufficient to break their force. Their ſand, particularly that of the Maeſe, accumulates at their mouths and ſtops them up; nor does the diviſion of the waters ſerve for any other purpoſe, than to compel them the more, in proceſs of time, to overflow the middle of the country, for want of having ſufficient ſtrength to maintain their old mouths.

Theſe canals, and the abundant diggings of turf, entirely diveſt this country, which is the ſport of the Rhine, the Maeſe, and the ſea, of all ſecurity. In the direct line betwixt Rotterdam and Amſterdam, there is dyke upon dyke; all theſe hollows have been occaſioned by the digging of the turf; moſt of them are ſo deep, that it is impoſſible to draw the waters of them into the canals, which are on a level with the ſurface of the ſea. What a ruin will take place, if once the waters of the neighbouring rivers break in upon them, or endeavour to open a way through them! In ſhort, no Dutchman can promiſe his children a durable habitation, ſave only the inhabitants of Guelderland, which is nothing but ſand, and thoſe of Over-Yſſel and Drenthe, countries which are almoſt nothing but moraſſes and heaths, and throughout, the habitations of colds, catarrhs, and fevers.

Turn

Turn we our eyes from the phyſical ſituation of the country to its preſent political one, which is much worſe.

Many ſuperficial writers of the hiſtory of Holland have obſerved, that the republic was too young, and its conſtitution not ſufficiently firm and ſolid; but this opinion has been controverted by a whole herd of Dutch writers, who have brought the brilliant parts of their hiſtory to ſhew, how little their conſtitution had ſtood in the way of their united exertions. The event, however, has contradicted all the nonſenſe hitherto written on the ſubject. The brilliant actions performed by the anceſtors of theſe men, were, in part, the effect of a patriotic enthuſiaſm, which neither is, nor, by the nature of things, can be, of long duration in a republic entirely commercial, and partly aroſe from the benevolent and perſonal influence of a demi-god of the houſe of Naſſau. Their operations were never the reſult of a ſolid conſtitution, which keeps bodies in a regular degree of heat, and makes them act with uniformity and alacrity. Even in the courſe of the war, in which the Republic figured amongſt the firſt powers of Europe, it frequently experienced, that the different members of

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the body were not well compacted and connected together.

The enthuſiaſm of the inhabitants, the preſſure of circumſtances, and the aſtoniſhing activity of ſome princes of Holland, could do wonders, and raiſe the Republic above itſelf, ſo long as the other powers of Europe were not entirely formed, and did not know the whole of their ſtrength; but ſince theſe times, the latter have taken uncommonly large ſtrides, and the Republic has gone back, as it muſt continue to do, for want of a ſufficient degree of internal ſtrength. In thoſe wars, in which the force of the Republic ſhone ſo bright at ſea, there was no naval power of Europe which poſſeſſed above thirty ſhips of the line; the greateſt force the Engliſh could oppoſe, conſiſted of twenty, and in the moſt bloody engagements betwixt the two nations, there were hardly ever more than twelve, or ſixteen on a ſide: the fleets were, for the moſt part, made up of frigates, and other leſſer craft.

Theſe times are now long gone by; Great Britain has a hundred and four ſhips of the line, beſides frigates. If by exorbitant taxes, the Republic could even build a formidable navy, it would be impoſſible for it ever to man them. According to the liſts of the admiralty, there are to be ſixty ſhips of the line, with a proportionable

tionable number of frigates ready for the ſervice of the enſuing year; but at this very moment, that they have but ſixteen ſhips, there is a cry for ſailors in every corner. The pay, it is true, has been doubled, and projects have been given in to make uſe of part of the land troops in the ſea-ſervice; go, however, where you will, you meet with nothing but ſailors, who expreſs their abhorrence and deteſtation of the ſervice.

Far from its being able to ſhine as a firſt-rate power, it will be neceſſary for the Republic to exert every nerve, if it means to hold rank even amongſt the ſecond order of naval powers in Europe. In order to do this, the inhabitants muſt become patriotic enough to contribute largely, even in time of peace, to the neceſſities of the ſtate, which is as poor as they are rich. The India Company, whoſe adminiſtration is ſtill more miſerable than that of the Engliſh; and which, incredible as it is, is loaded with debt by the robbery of its ſervants, and the intereſtedneſs of the proprietors, muſt be entirely ſuppreſſed, and its poſſeſſions governed by the Republic; the land troops, a miſerable jeſt upon armies, and of which the Swiſs and Dutch alone deſerve the name of ſoldiers, muſt be entirely diſbanded, and their immenſe pay employed in the ſervice of the navy. When all this is done,

poſſibly the State may be in a ſituation to keep up a conſtant navy of fifty or ſixty ſhips of the line; but in the preſent ſtate of things, even if the fifty or ſixty ſhips that are promiſed could be got ready, the beſt thing that could be done with them, would be to ſell them directly to the neighbouring power of Europe, which would give moſt; the Republic itſelf has, neither ſtrength enough to keep them manned and in a ſtate of ſervice for a courſe of years, nor good will and power enough to preſerve them at the end of the war; they muſt of courſe rot again in a ſhort time. As the Republic has made conqueſts abroad, the defence of which, in the preſent times, far ſurpaſſes her power; ſhe has the good will and jealouſy of her neighbours to thank, for ſtill continuing in poſſeſſion of them.

But ſmall as the reſources of the Republic appear to be, when conſidered with regard to the preſent political ſyſtem of Europe, the conſtitution of the country does not allow her to make all the uſe of them they might be put to. Not only abroad, but in Holland itſelf, the Republic paſſes for a confederacy of ſeven, or, taking in the county of Drenthe, of eight ſovereigns. Nothing can be falſer than this eſtimate; there are a greater number of independent ſtates in Holland than in Switzerland, or the whole Ger-

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man empire; and whatever appearances may ſpeak the contrary, the bond of union is much ſtronger in theſe laſt countries than it is in Holland. Every city, every country of this Republic is a free ſtate; the members of every province ſhould indeed be only the repreſentatives of the ſtates of a country, as they formerly were; but they are in fact become true ſtates, according to their titles. The States General are no repreſentatives of ſeven or eight ſovereigns, but only the reſults of the deliberations of many ſtates, which are united by a ſpecial bond, and call themſelves a province. The cities of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, and many others, have, during this war, not only very frequently forgot the provincial judicature, which, with the other ſtates of the province, they have erected as a *kind of congreſs*, but have behaved as if they were in every reſpect independent; I ſay, *as a kind of Congreſs*, for that they are no ſuperior tribunal, but only the members of a congreſs, who, in particular caſes, poſſeſs the higheſt authority, is evident from ſeveral affairs having been removed from this judicature, to the particular ones of each city. All the tribunals of Holland muſt be looked upon as congreſſes of different ſovereigns, who can diſunite at pleaſure. Even the council of war, pre-eminent and

important as it is, is of the ſame kind. The diſtricts of Oſtergo, Weſtergo, the Seven Woods in Frieſland, &c. although only properly bailiwicks, are at this inſtant occupied in ſeparating entirely from the provincial aſſembly, and erecting their own tribunals *en dernier reſort*, among themſelves. In ſeveral repreſentations which they have made to the Stadtholder in their own names, and without the participation or advice of the other ſtates of their country, they directly call themſelves ſovereigns. The aſſemblies of the States General themſelves are nothing leſs than a body repreſenting one independent ſovereign. The members of it, though conſtantly together, are no more than ambaſſadors for the moment, who muſt inform their reſpective provinces of every event that falls out, and direct their deliberations by the wiſdom of the multitude in theſe.

Immenſe as the anarchy appears in the contexture of the whole, it is ſtill greater in each ſingle ſtate and diſtrict. There the colliſion of oppoſite intereſts, the variety of ſpirits and humours, and the clowniſh ſtupidity of the common burghers, allow the demagogues to make their advantage of every thing that falls out. Each particular government is the theatre of ever-contending factions, the heads of which have no thought whatever, but of their own private intereſt.

tereſt. This war has furniſhed innumerable inſtances of protection afforded by faction to the greateſt criminals. Here, in Amſterdam, there are four or five houſes, who can do exactly what they pleaſe; whilſt the public is deluded by falſe news, venal journaliſts, and every ſpecies of political deception. In proportion as the one city gets more from England, or the other more from France, they become entirely French or Engliſh, without any attention whatever to the well-being of the whole. The intereſt of thoſe cities which ſubſiſt by navigation is altogether different from that of thoſe on the main land, which depend only on agriculture and induſtry. As the nobility look entirely to the Stadtholder for advancement, for the ſame reaſon the burghers are conſtantly united againſt him, and ſo the war betwixt them is endleſs. The conſciouſneſs of the diſadvantages which the ſtate muſt ſuffer from theſe controverſies, in caſes where concord and activity are neceſſary, are the reaſons why the Dutch have never been able to do without the Stadtholderſhip, as they have frequently wiſhed to do: but though they have got it, the evil genius of the Republic has always contrived to render it of no uſe in thoſe very caſes where it was calculated to do the moſt good. As in time of war the ſpirits of men are moſt heated, and people

are apt to ſee things in the falſe lights in which their own paſſions or the gloſs of faction repreſent them; it has always happened, that the time pitched upon to curb the power of the Stadtholder, has been that in which alone the extenſion of the dictatorial power might have been of ſervice to the country; the conſequence is, that the Republic bears all the burthen, without enjoying any of the conveniences of the office. It is abſolutely ridiculous to hear and to read all the reproaches which are made to the Stadtholderat, entirely ariſing from fooliſh ſuſpicions, or the falſe reports of intereſted demagogues. Were the people cool enough to ſee things in the right point of view, there are ſeveral phyſical and moral conſiderations fully ſufficient to make them eaſy, excluſive of the perſonal qualities of the preſent Stadtholder. At one time he is reproached with his ſecret underſtanding with the Court of St. James's; at another, they ſuppoſe that he wants the abſolute dominion over his country. It is certain, that the prince wiſhes to be upon good terms with England, but he is not therefore a traitor to the country from which he derives the greateſt part of his ſupport: his wiſhes in this reſpect were ſuch as the beſt intereſts of the Republic dictated, and his object was to put it in a ſituation to preſerve the neutrality: but the people

were deaf to all his repreſentations, and he has been compelled to expiate the ſins of others; the conſequences of which, he would, had it been poſſible, have prevented. Long before the breach, he repreſented to the States General the urgent neceſſity there was for them to increaſe their forces by ſea and land; but his remonſtrances were vain, and the only effect produced by them has been, that now, ill-diſpoſed perſons revenge themſelves on him, and the Duke of Brunſwick, who has done the ungrateful Republic ſpecial ſervice, for the good advice they gave. They are the martyrs of truth—and by what means can the prince poſſeſs himſelf of the government of the Republic? With twenty-eight thouſand of the wretchedeſt ſoldiers in the world, who, if you except the nine thouſand Swiſs and Germans, are not equal to the taking of Amſterdam. And ſuppoſing him to get all Holland, what would he be the better for it when he had done? France, England, and even the Dutch Eaſt India Company, would take care to prevent him from poſſeſſing himſelf of any part of the foreign dominions. The rich, too, would leave a land in which there was no longer any liberty, according to their notions of it, and betake themſelves to England or America; the arts and induſtry would of courſe ſoon follow, and the prince

would not have enough left to defend himſelf againſt the ſea, the rivers, and the frogs.

The jealouſy which the natives entertain for the numerous German princes and nobles, which were employed by the prince, and his right hand, the Duke of Brunſwick, in the army, contributed much, no doubt, to leſſen his authority; but without theſe ſtrangers the land ſervice could not have been put upon a reſpectable footing. As to the natives, the factions which eternally ſubſiſt among them ſtand in the way of all ſubordination, regularity, and military diſcipline; every ſtripling belonging to a demagogue of Amſterdam or Rotterdam conſiders himſelf as a particle of the ſovereignty: it would furniſh endleſs food for ſatire, to recount how many irregularities in the ſervice ariſe from this ſingle cauſe.—Even on the Swiſs, who are ſo averſe to any kind of nobility, this treatment of the Prince and the Duke has had no good effect.

The evil, however, which really undermines the Stadtholderſhip, lies much deeper. It is the ſame which brought Charles to the block and Cromwell to the protectorate; which raiſed the whigs, and was ſo long the object of Swift's ſatire. It is generally imagined, that it was the American revolution which raiſed the republican ſpirit, which ſo ſuddenly poſſeſſed the Dutch;

but it had long been in them, and only ſlept till awakened by the preſent war. The reformed, whoſe opinions are ſo favourable to democracy, and the Memnonites, who publicly preach the equality of mankind, but treat all who ſtand in their way without pity, are the real inſtruments which oppreſs the Stadtholder. Theſe enthuſiaſts are without compariſon the richeſt people in the republic; they are alſo the moſt numerous part of the inhabitants of ſome of the greateſt cities, for inſtance, of Haerlem. The ſums, which theſe advocates for the natural equality of mankind have lent out for many years paſt at ſix, eight, and even ten per cent. to the poor nobility, have made the latter entirely dependant upon them. The conſequence of this is, that though their religious opinions will not allow them to take any part in the government of the ſtate, their ſecret influence is inexpreſſibly great. Theſe hypocrites, who conſider it as a ſin to wear metal buckles or buttons, but will uſe every ſpecies of meanneſs to fill their purſes with the ducats of honeſt men, have uſurped ſuch a power, as to threaten the very near downfall of the Stadtholder, the only bond of union which ſubſiſts in the republic. The heads of the Dutch mob are filled with every kind of nonſenſe, which theſe pretended ſaints can ſuggeſt.—As they knew

knew that the Stadtholder was too forgiving, too good-hearted, and if the truth be told, had too little experience to make head againſt a mob himſelf; the firſt thing they did was to procure the baniſhment of the acute, determined, and ſtubborn Duke of Brunſwick. His ruin was the prelude to the ruin of the Stadtholder, whom nothing can poſſibly ſave but a ſpeedy peace, which will reduce theſe republicans to their former inactivity.

It is enough, this war has ſhewn the republic to Europe in all her nakedneſs; it has been made evident, that ſhe has no ſolid conſtitution, nor, as the reſt of the European powers now ſtand, ſtrength enough to make her reſpectable as a friend, or formidable as an enemy. For fourſcore years ſhe was entirely forgot. During this period, the avarice of individuals ſtifled every idea, both of her former power and the public good. Her neighbours, in the mean time, acquired great ſtrength; at length the Engliſh gave her a kick on the breech, and waked her out of her ſleep: when ſhe had opened her eyes and ſeen how far ſhe was gone backwards, ſhe ſtrove to make amends for her negligence; but all her efforts were little better than grimaces, and only expoſed her to the deriſion of the world.

LETTER LXXI.

Oſtend.

SINCE this town has been made a free port, the trade of it has very much increaſed; it is, however, much to be feared, that after the war it will relapſe into its former inſignificancy. All the Engliſh, who are here, cry out on the dangerous entrance into the haven, by ſtormy north-north-weſt and weſterly winds, the narrow baſon, and the want of many other conveniencies.

The ſituation of Antwerp would have been much more advantageous for the advancement of trade, but the Dutch have locked up the mouth of the Scheld. Their forts not only govern the river, as they ſhould do according to treaty, but they have literally ſtopped up the mouth of it. Sunken ſhips filled with ſtones, immenſe dykes of ſtone, palliſadoes, and other things of the kind, barely leave room enough for ſmall boats to go by. Twenty millions of guilders would not be enough, in twenty years, to remove the impediments which the Dutch have laid in the way of the trade of Antwerp.

There

There is no want of gold in Brabant and Flanders. Antwerp, Bruſſels, Ghent, and Bruges, are ſtill filled with the treaſures which were amaſſed, when theſe towns were what England and Holland now are. The burgeſſes of theſe cities have a ſhare in all the great undertakings, and loans of the neighbouring nations. Their commerce of exchange is immenſe, probably inſurance is not ſo ſafe among the Dutch themſelves as it is here. Antwerp is one of the moſt famous places of inſurance in the world.—In the laſt Bavarian war, the court of Vienna, having determined to raiſe a loan in theſe countries, were aſtoniſhed at the quickneſs with which the money was raiſed; but the inhabitants of Ghent and Antwerp let the regency know, that if there was occaſion for three or four times as much, it would be as eaſily procured. Ever ſince that time the court ſeems to know the value of its poſſeſſions in the Netherlands.

Notwithſtanding this, the induſtry in theſe countries is upon the whole very different from what it was. The heirs of thoſe treaſures, which were accumulated between the twelfth and ſixteenth centuries, endeavour to make money of them in the eaſieſt way; nor is their way of living calculated to improve them to the utmoſt. They are the moſt extraordinary compound of

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ſlothfulneſs and induſtry, ſtupidity and acuteneſs, activity and cowardlineſs, goodneſs of heart and treachery, that can well be conceived. An Engliſhman once ſaid of them, "They have the impudence of the French, without their pleaſantry; the pride and bigotry of the Spaniards, without their ſenſe of honour; the ferocity and harſhneſs of the Dutch, without their punctuality; the debauchery of the Germans, without their integrity; and as to their bodies, they are blocks, from which the carver attempted to make Engliſhmen, but could not cut them out." The picture is in general juſt, as theſe inhabitants of the Netherlands are an aſſemblage of all theſe nations.—But what they are moſt conſpicuous for, is want of honour. You muſt have agreements in writing in all the common tranſactions of life. You are in danger of being firſt overcharged, and then carried into a court of juſtice by every workman of whom you beſpeak a piece of work, if you do not put down your agreement in black and white.

With reſpect to their bodies, they, and the Saxons, are the moſt like the Germans deſcribed by Tacitus: their bodies are of a very unwieldy make, and *ad impetum valida*. What, too, Tacitus ſays of the old Germans, that they can bear neither hunger, nor thirſt, nor heat, nor cold,

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nor yet any long work, is true of them. In the Imperial armies they are accounted good partiſans, but are never put to regular ſervice without extreme neceſſity. They have an extreme abhorrence of diſcipline, and look upon it as a ſevere puniſhment to be ſubject to the rules of the ſervice. If their robberies and maraudings are not overlooked, they do not laſt a campaign. In ſhort, it is only in action that they ſhew themſelves at all ſoldiers.

Spain, Italy, and Portugal excepted, there is no country ſo overloaded with monks as the Auſtrian Netherlands: there are in many towns forty or fifty convents; ſeveral prelatures are worth 200,000 guilders, 2000l. *per ann.* If you divide the income of the country into four parts, one will be found to belong to the prieſthood, one to the nobility, one to the ſovereign, and one to the people. The bigotry and intolerance of the inhabitants is beyond all deſcription, and is a marvellous contraſt to the corruption of their manners.

The nobility of this country are extremely rich, and live in a very high ſtyle. Bruſſels is one of the moſt beautiful and moſt brilliant cities in Europe. It has loſt a great deal by the death of Prince Charles, who ſpent 700,000 guilders a year in the city, and whoſe loſs has not been made up

up for, by the œconomical Duke of Saxe-Teſchen. I have not ſeen any where a finer place than the large market-place of this city; all the houſes in it are built in a ſtyle and with a degree of magnificence that you hardly ſee any where out of Italy. You meet here with excellent company, who are not difficult of acceſs to a ſtranger. There are ſeveral clubs, after the manner of the Engliſh, where you find the greateſt freedom and good humour. One of the beſt of theſe conſiſts of the Duke of Arenberg, Mr. Hopp, the Dutch miniſter, (a man in general eſteem on account of his knowledge and good qualities) our miniſter, ſome of the nobility of the place, and ſome Engliſh. No man can become a member but by ballot. The room in which they meet commands a very fine view of the public walks, on one ſide of which it ſtands. The club meets twice a week: a member has the privilege of introducing ſtrangers, almoſt without any difficulty. Linguet was a member of this club. The ſubſcription is four louis-d'ors each member, for five months; for this they have a ſumptuous table; the wine is paid for ſeparate. There are ſeveral other leſſer aſſociations of this kind in Bruſſels; nor have I met with a place in which this appendage of refined life and manners was better underſtood than it is here.

here. Since the Engliſh have come ſo much to Oſtend, and the Court of Vienna has flattered them with the hopes of making a peace for them, every thing in Bruſſels is become Engliſh; they ride, play, hunt, and eat, *a' l' Angloiſe*, and all the ſocieties are become clubs. The town at leaſt has loſt nothing by this.

The Duke of Saxe-Teſchen, the governor, lives very quietly with his wife; he ſhews himſelf not to be a lover of large companies or expence, notwithſtanding that he has an income of 4,000,000 imperial guilders, or 4000l. per annum. The Archdutcheſs ſeldom ſhews herſelf with the externals of imperial magnificence; her principles on this point are much the ſame as thoſe of her huſband; her favourite amuſement is hunting; there are few perſons that are better hands at ſhooting flying than ſhe is; ſhe has had a wonderful education, as well as her other ſiſters. Her huſband too does honour to the Imperial Court by his principles of government.

There is no province in the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, the ſtates of which have preſerved a degree of reſpect equal to that which thoſe of the Netherlands ſtill poſſeſs; I imagine that it is the affluence in which the burgeſſes live that has made them preſerve ſentiments of liberty, which you look for in vain in Italy

gary; then, their intereſts have rendered the nobility entirely dependant on the court; the want of large cities too muſt have very much lightened the trouble of the Imperial Court, when it found itſelf compelled to undermine the privileges of the ſtates of Hungary. Even in Lombardy, the power of the nobility proved a weak dam againſt the power of the court. But this power the common Burgers are at all times intereſted in leſſening, as they have more to give and leſs to expect from the court than the other members of the ſtate. The diſtance of the Imperial reſidence, and the example of Holland, which the Court of Vienna has perpetually before its eyes, will, no doubt, have contributed ſomething towards keeping up the old conſtitution of this country.

Singular are the events which take place in this earth of ours. The revolution which made Holland a free commonwealth, broke out in the Auſtrian Netherlands. Whilſt every thing here was already in motion, the Dutch thought not in the leaſt of making themſelves free. Nor would they ever have been ſo by their own exertions, as even in the earlieſt times of the republic they announced the ſlothfulneſs which ſtill renders them remarkable. It was only ſuch a ſingular genius as the Prince of

Orange, who could have ſecured them the free dom which they ſeemed to have no deſire of for themſelves. But ſee how matters have ended; religion took the preſent provinces of Auſtria from an undertaking to which they had firſt laid their hands, and now they are made uſe of to oppreſs Holland. What a contradiction!

LETTER LXXII.

Oſtend.

TO morrow, brother, I ſhall ſail for England; but before I go, permit me to take one general review of the whole.

Germany, taking in Sileſia, is at leaſt one fifth larger than France. It contains about twelve thouſand ſquare miles. The ſoil is very different, in different parts. A great part of it however is productive to a degree which, France and Italy only excepted, is not to be found in any other country in our part of the world. The immenſe maſſes of rock in the ſouthern parts of the circles of Auſtria and Bavaria, and the ſands of the north, which almoſt comprehend the whole circles of Lower Saxony, Brandenburg, Pomerania, the Laufitz, and the north of Weſtphalia, are not, it is true, capable of ſuch cultivation, as the upper parts of Germany; but this would be a great advantage if once the intereſts of the whole were common. The mountains of the South contain almoſt every

kind of metal in prodigious quantities, and in the greateſt perfection, and the ſandy places of the North, together with the beſt wood for building ſhips, furniſh hemp, flax, and wool, in great abundance.

Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, the archdutchy of Auſtria, Bavaria, Suabia, the countries about the Rhine, the Auſtrian Netherlands, and thoſe parts of the circle of Upper Saxony, which are not in the poſſeſſion of the King of Pruſſia, produce corn, cattle, wine, and all the firſt neceſſaries of life, in ſuch plenty as not only to be ſufficient for the ſupply of all Germany, but even for great exportations.—In a word, Germany is the only country in Europe, which is independent of all the world, for a ſupply of all the neceſſaries and conveniences which a large and flouriſhing ſtate requires, or which a great power ſtands in need of for its defence. France is deficient in wood, cattle, (particularly horſes) the moſt neceſſary metals, and linen; and Ruſſia is obliged to import wine, wood, horſes for hard ſervice, and various other articles; but Germany has every thing which theſe two very rich, and, in many reſpects, very different countries produce, and a great ſuperfluity of what they want beſides.

The laſt mentioned and beſt provinces of Germany, contain about 6400 ſquare miles. To judge of the population you muſt reckon 2500 men for every ſquare mile; at leaſt a variety of different eſtimates agree in this; and if Bavaria, Heſſe, and ſome other countries fall ſomewhat below this calculation, others, as Auſtria, Wirtemberg, the Netherlands, and different parts of the circle of Upper Saxony, go beyond it. This part of Germany contains alſo about ſixteen million of inhabitants.

The other part contains about 5600 ſquare miles. It is difficult to eſtimate the population of this part. Some countries, as for inſtance Upper Auſtria, have 2000 ſouls in every ſquare mile. Magdeburgh, Halberſtadt, Minden, Brunſwick, Hilderſheim, and many others have 2500. On the other hand, the Hanoverian dominions, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, and many others, have not more than 1000 men in every ſquare mile. It is my opinion that in order to eſtimate the population of this part of Germany, you muſt reckon 1700 men, for every ſquare mile, which will give 9,500,000 for this part, and make the whole 25,500,000. In his treatiſe *de la Litterature Allemande*, the King of Pruſſia reckons 26,000,000 for the whole country, an eſtimate which appears to me to

come

come neareſt to the truth. The manifeſto which the Empreſs of Ruſſia preſented to the court of Vienna, on account of the laſt diſturbances about Bavaria, contains theſe remarkable words. "It is the buſineſs of all the "powers of Europe to ſee, that the balance of "Germany be not diſturbed, for if it be, the "ſtrength of the country and its ſituation will "enable it to diſturb the peace of all Europe." This is an undeniable truth; France and Italy are the only countries which can vie with Germany in population.

This extenſive country has not yet nearly arrived at the degree of cultivation of which it is capable, not even at that of France. The peace of Hubertſburger, is the æra of its cultivation; agriculture and induſtry have been univerſal ever ſince that period.

Germany has taken much larger, and quicker ſtrides to cultivation, than any other European power. It at once exerted all its ſtrength to fill up the gaps which had been made in it by the deſtructive war of thirty years. The very partition of the country into ſo many ſtates, prejudicial as it is to the exertion of power for the purpoſe of foreign conqueſts, has been of advantage to the internal cultivation. At preſent the firſt princes in Germany contend with each other

other who ſhall make the beſt improvements in the adminiſtration of juſtice, in education, and police, and who ſhall do moſt for the promotion of induſtry and commerce, with as much eagerneſs, as they formerly contended who ſhould be foremoſt in pomp and idle magnificence. No where is there ſo thorough a conviction of the value of men and their different occupations, and no where is there ſo great a ſtir made to improve them for the advantage of the whole as in Germany. With reſpect to legiſlation and the true intereſts of a country, there has been a benevolent light ſpread in moſt parts of this empire, which does not only, as in France, point out the gaps, but encourages the princes and their ſervants to fill them up. Without a doubt, Germany, as well as the reſt of Europe, is much indebted to the King of Pruſſia, the firſt practical philoſopher, who, in modern times, has been ſeen on the throne. It was he who began the glorious revolution, which has made ſuch changes in Germany during the laſt twenty years; he taught his neighbours that the intereſt of princes and their ſubjects are the ſame; he began to take off the veil which was thrown over adminiſtration; finally, he ſubdued the little tyrants amongſt the prieſts and

and nobility, who fattened on the ſubſtance of the citizen and peaſant. Military as his government may appear to you ſuperficial obſervers, it is to this military government, and the imitations of it in other countries, that Germany is indebted for a peace of twenty years, which ſhe had not known for many centuries before, and in the courſe of which ſhe firſt began to feel what ſhe really was. Perfect legiſlation, without a doubt, is the ſummit of all human attainments; ſhe alone can make us happy; ſhe alone produces ſociable men, and eſtimates the value of them; and how proud ought not Germany to be of Frederick, Joſeph, and Catharine, three legiſlative geniuſſes exiſting together at the ſame period, the like to whom many centuries ſeldom produce one.

The peculiar turn of the Germans ſeems to be for philoſophy; they are diſtinguiſhed from all the nations in Europe, for cool and juſt judgments, united with extreme induſtry; they were the firſt who threw a light on mathematics and general phyſics; next they darted through theology, then hiſtory, and finally, legiſlation, with the ſame philoſophical ſpirit.—They will do well to leave to other nations the prize of wit, for which they will always contend in vain.

If

If Germany could make itſelf one great people; if it was united under one governor; if the preſent intereſts of a ſingle prince were not often in oppoſition to the good of the whole; if all the members were ſo well compacted into one body, that the ſuperfluous ſap of the one could circulate and invigorate the reſt, what much greater ſteps towards cultivation would the empire then make! But then Germany would give laws to all Europe. How powerful, as things even now are, are the two houſes of Auſtria and Brandenburg, the greatneſs of whoſe ſtrength conſiſts in their German poſſeſſions, and who yet neither poſſeſs the half nor even the beſt parts of the country. Conceive this country in ſuch a ſituation as that no burthenſome exciſe ſhould oppreſs the internal commerce of the different provinces; no cuſtoms ſhould prohibit exports all over the world; in ſuch a ſituation as that the immenſe ſums that it gives for outlandiſh commodities, which itſelf can furniſh, ſhould be ſpared—or that it could become a naval power, for which it has ſuch ports and ſuch plenty of proviſions, that it could itſelf employ the numerous colonies it ſends out to the reſt of Europe:—conceive this—what country in the world could then cope with Germany?

The

The character of men depends for the moſt part on their government. The character of the Germans has in general as little brilliancy in it as the conſtitution of the empire; they have none of the national pride and patriotiſm by which the Britons, Spaniards, and our own countrymen are diſtinguiſhed; fond as their poets have been, for ſome time paſt, of aſcribing theſe qualities to them. Their pride and patriotic ſentiments only extend to the part of Germany in which they are born; to the reſt of their countrymen they are ſtrange as to any ſtrangers, nay, in ſeveral parts of Germany, they are much fonder of ſtrangers than they are of their own countrymen. It is the ſenſe of weakneſs of the leſſer powers of Germany which damps their national pride; it is only becauſe Germany cannot uſe its power altogether, and that other nations feel their ſtrength, that it has been deſpiſed by the inhabitants of other countries, who yet have nothing to boaſt above it, ſave a faſter bond of union among themſelves, or a ridiculous pride. We ſeldom judge of men from their inner worth, ſo much as from the external appearance they make in the world. We eſtimate the Ruſſians, Engliſh, &c. according to the idea we have taken up of the whole nation; and though the individual

individual may happen to be, as he often is, ten times more barbarous than a German, we give him credit for the fame and worth of his illuſtrious countrymen.

Though the character of the Germans be not ſo brilliant as that of other nations, ſtill it is not deſtitute of its peculiar excellencies. The German is the man of the world. He lives under every ſky, and conquers every natural obſtacle to his happineſs. His induſtry is inexhauſtible. Poland, Hungary, Ruſſia, the Engliſh and Dutch colonies, are much indebted to German emigrants. Even the firſt ſtates in Europe owe to Germany great part of their knowledge. Rectitude is alſo an almoſt univerſal characteriſtic of the people of this country; nor are the manners of the peaſants and thoſe of the inhabitants of the leſſer cities, by any means ſo corrupt as thoſe of France and other countries; it is owing to this that, notwithſtanding the great emigrations, the country is ſtill ſo well peopled. To conclude, frugality on the ſide of the Proteſtants, and frankneſs and goodheartedneſs on the ſide of the Catholics, are brilliant national characteriſtics.

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